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YELLOW FEVER IN COLONIAL CHARLESTON

By JOHN DUFFY

*Northwestern State College**

South Carolina early in its history gained a reputation as one of the most unhealthy spots in British North America. All the disorders which harried settlers in the northern colonies were present in this area, often in a more virulent form, while yellow fever, dengue, and other tropical and semi-tropical diseases occasionally inflicted additional casualties upon the colonists. One of the most fruitful sources of information on health conditions in the American colonies is the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,¹ an Anglican group which sent missionaries into all the English settlements and required them to submit detailed semi-annual reports covering their activities. In the letters of missionaries laboring in the southern provinces, complaints of malaria, dysentery, and "pestilential fevers" were a recurrent theme. Their complaints were not without justification, for sickness was more prevalent in South Carolina than in the colonies to the north. In the first place, both malaria and dysentery, two of the major colonial diseases, are more fatal in warmer regions. Secondly, the lowlands of Carolina are fertile breeding grounds for the anopheles and other mosquitoes. And finally, the climatic adjustment which newcomers from the cooler regions of Northwestern Europe had to make in the settlements to the south was greater than for those who made their homes in the New England and Middle colonies. The matter of climatic adjustment was a serious problem in colonial days when so many diseases were endemic. As August Hirsch in his classic nineteenth-century study of disease has pointed out, newcomers to all regions are peculiarly susceptible to endemic infections,² and many contagious sicknesses thrive in the warm moist lowlands of Carolina.

Like other colonial coastal cities, Charleston was subject to the usual perennial disorders and, in addition, was periodically ravaged by the more fatal contagions. Among the most deadly and horrifying of these epidemic diseases was yellow fever. This pestilence struck suddenly, and, to the colonists, in an unaccountable fashion. Although they recognized that the disease was imported from the West Indies and that the infection usually remained close to the water front, the settlers had no inkling of its trans-

* Natchitoches, La.

¹ Herein cited as S. P. G.

² August Hirsch, *Handbook of Geographical and Historical Pathology* (London, 1883-86), III, 361.

mission by mosquitoes, and their inability to account for the spread of the contagion only added to the consternation aroused by its excessive death toll. The case fatality rate for yellow fever is usually high but may vary from 12 to 80 per cent. However an outbreak in Rio de Janeiro in 1898 brought death to 94.5 per cent of those infected. The infection is relatively easy to identify since two of the characteristic symptoms are a high temperature accompanied by the vomiting of partly digested blood. This latter symptom early gave the contemporary name "black vomit" to this terrible disorder and simplifies identification.

Although the contagion was well established in Central and South America by the middle of the seventeenth century, it did not gain a foothold in North America until 1699 when major epidemics developed in Charleston and Philadelphia. A number of medical historians assert that the infection plagued the New England colonies at a much earlier date but the evidence, at best, is inconclusive.

The outbreak occurring in Charleston in 1699 completely disrupted all normal activities and cast a pall of gloom over the city. Several graphic descriptions of this first yellow fever epidemic have survived. The official report of the governor and council dated January 17, 1700, declares:

A most infectious pestilential and mortal distemper (the same which hath always been in one or more of his Majesty's American plantations, for eight or nine years last past) which from Barbados or Providence was brought in among us into Charles Town about the 28th or 29th of Aug. last past, and the decay of trade and mutations of your Lordships public officers occasioned thereby. This Distemper from the time of its beginning aforesaid to the first day of November killed in Charles Town at least 160 persons. . . . Besides those that have died in Charles Town 10 or 11 have died in the country, all of which got the distemper and were infected in Charles Town went home to their families and died; and what is notable not one of their families was infected by them.³

The failure of yellow fever victims who had left the infected area to transmit the disease was noticed by many colonial observers, but this problem remained to puzzle medical men until the discovery at the end of the nineteenth century of the role played by mosquitoes.

The most vivid and detailed picture of the devastation is found in a private letter dated at Charleston, February 23, 1700:

It is hard to describe the terrible Tempest of Mortality in our Charleston; which began towards the latter end of August, and continued to the middle of November, In which Space of time there died in Charlestown, 125, English of all sorts; high

³ Letter from Governor and Council, Charleston, January 17, 1700, in Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719* (New York, 1897), p. 309.

and low, old and young. 37, French. 16, Indians, and 1 Negro. . . the Distemper raged, and the destroying Angel slaughtered so furiously with his revenging Sword of Pestilence, that there died (as I have read in the Catalogue of the dead) 14 in one day, Sept. 28th and raged as bad all October; so that the dead were carried in carts, being heaped up one upon another. Worse by far than the great Plague of London, considering the smallness of the Town. Shops shut up for 5 weeks; nothing but carrying Medicines, digging graves, carting the dead; to the great astonishment of all beholders.⁴

Among the yellow fever victims were the chief justice, receiver-general, provost marshall, and almost half of the Assembly⁵. With many of the governing officials dead or dying and the remainder incapacitated from fear of the disorder, the local administration was in no position to alleviate the general distress.

News of the disaster in Charleston spread rapidly through the colonies and caused general apprehension. From Boston, Cotton Mather wrote of "the horrible plague of Barbados" which had made "an Incredible Desolation" in Charleston. The contagion struck close to Mather for he lost an uncle during the outbreak. Speaking of the latter's death he reported, "Mr. Fenwick and others write that all the ministers in Charlestown were Dead but they mention the Death of their precious Pastor, my Uncle, as the most killing disaster."⁶

As near as can be ascertained, approximately 180 individuals were lost in the course of the epidemic. The exact population of Charleston in 1699 is not easy to determine. However, John Oldmixon, writing in 1707, estimated the town to have about 250 houses and 3,000 inhabitants.⁷ His figures are probably too high since a more reliable estimate placed the population of the entire colony at only 9,580.⁸ Even accepting Oldmixon's figures, about six per cent of the population perished within a space of two months.

Seven years later Charleston was attacked by a "Pestilential Fever" which in all likelihood was yellow fever. John Oldmixon classified the epi-

⁴ Letter of Hugh Adams, Charleston, February 25, 1700, in *Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1700-1714*, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections (herein cited as Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.), 5th ser., VI, 11-12.

⁵ Alexander Hewat, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia* (London, 1779), I, 142-143; see also David Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina from its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808* (Charleston, 1809), II, 82.

⁶ Cotton Mather to Mrs. Joanna Cotton, Boston, August 23, 1699, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls., 4th ser., VIII, 403-404.

⁷ Alexander S. Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York, 1911), p. 365.

⁸ William J. Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina to the Close of the Proprietary Government by the Revolution of 1719* (Charleston, 1856), pp. 231-232.

demic as one of the "raging sicknesses" usually brought from the southern colonies to South Carolina, "as the late Sickness was, which raged A. D. 1706, and carried off abundance of People in *Charles-Town* and other places."⁹ One of the omnipresent S. P. G. missionaries who arrived in the midst of the outbreak reported: "On the 20th of September wee Arrived at Charles Town in Carolina after a long tedious, and most dangerous Passage, which we found visited with a Pestilential Fever very mortal especially to fresh Europeans; My Dear Friend the Reverend Mr. Sam[uel] Thomas your worthy and faithful Missionary died of this Distemper the 10th of October, 1706, a great and Surprising loss to me."¹⁰ In March, 1707, the Lords Proprietors expressed condolences to Sir Nathaniel Johnson for "the loss of Col. Moore, Mr. Howe, and other Worthy persons of our Province, by the late distemper, which we hope is now wholly abated."¹¹ The French and Spanish seized this opportune time to attack the city, but were driven off by Governor Johnson, who quartered his troops a half mile from the city to avoid the infection.¹²

A number of "Pestilential Feavers" attacked Charleston from 1711 to 1718. The introduction of the yellow fever mosquito in 1699 had paved the way for subsequent attacks of the infection and although the evidence is limited, yellow fever was probably among these sicknesses plaguing the town. For example, in November, 1711, Gideon Johnston, the S. P. G. commissary, wrote that "Pestilential Feavers" were among the fatal disorders visiting Charleston. Displaying a somewhat un-Christian attitude, he complained to the Society of the extra work entailed by the unusual mortality, remarking, "Three Funeralls of a day, and sometimes four are now very usual and all that I gett by these is a few rotten Glov's and an abundance of trouble day and night."¹³ Another resident of Charleston also spoke of the many deaths from "Malignant Feavers" raging at the time.¹⁴

Despite many references to "fevers" in the ensuing years, it was not until 1718 that sickness again reached epidemic proportions in Charleston.

⁹ John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America* (London, 1741), I, 515.

¹⁰ Thomas Hassell to Secretary, September 6, 1707, S. P. G. MSS (L. C. Photo.), London Letters, A 3, fpp. 281-284.

¹¹ Lords Proprietors to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Charles Town, March 8, 1707, in Frederick Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (Charleston, 1820), p. 75n.

¹² Bartholomew, R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina* (New York, 1836), I, 159-161.

¹³ Gideon Johnston to Secretary, November 16, 1711, S. P. G. MSS (L. C. Photo.), London Letters, A 7, fpp. 466-477.

¹⁴ Thomas Hassell to Secretary, St. Thomas' Parish, March 12, 1712, *ibid.*, A 7, fpp. 498-501.

In November, the Reverend William Tredwell Bull wrote to the S. P. G.: "Mr. Marston, who was formerly Minister in Town removed in the Spring to the Bahama Island and is since dead of a Pestilential Feaver, which raged there and here in Charles Town this fall, we hope it is now over in this Province."¹⁵ At the same time another correspondent declared that Charleston had been afflicted with "Small Pox and Malignant ffever the latter of which still continues and have Carryed off great Numbers of people."¹⁶ The use of the terms "pestilential" or "malignant" fevers in connection with the island settlements to the south is an excellent indication of yellow fever.

Ten years later the contagion again returned to Charleston. Noah Webster, in his history of epidemics, referred to the outbreak as the "Bilious Plague" and added that it proved very fatal.¹⁷ The best account was given by Dr. Alexander Hewat, an eighteenth century South Carolina historian, who declared that during the exceedingly hot summer of 1728

...an infectious and pestilential distemper commonly called the 'yellow' broke out in town, and swept off multitudes of the inhabitants both white and black. ... The physicians knew not how to treat the uncommon disorder which was suddenly caught, and proved so quickly fatal. The calamity was so general that few could grant assistance to their distressed neighbors, however much needed and earnestly desired. So many funerals happened every day while so many lay sick, white persons sufficient for buying the dead were scarce to be found.¹⁸

The rapid onset of the sickness and the high case fatality rate, both characteristic of yellow fever, leave no doubt as to the nature of this epidemic.

In 1732 a yellow fever epidemic once more paralyzed Charleston. The first cases developed in May and it was not until the cooler weather of fall that the infection finally wore itself out. At the peak of the outbreak the death toll among whites alone ran from eight to ten daily; and despite greater resistance to the disease, the Negroes, too, suffered heavily. With so many funerals occurring it was felt advisable to forbid the tolling of bells.¹⁹ Nearly all normal business activities were brought to a halt and despair settled over the town. Dr. John Lining, a Charleston physician who witnessed this and later outbreaks of the disease, unhesitatingly pro-

¹⁵ To Secretary, St. Paul's, November 24, 1718, *ibid.*, A 13, fp. 236.

¹⁶ Thomas Hassell to Secretary, St. Thomas', October 11, 1718, *ibid.*, A 13, fp. 241.

¹⁷ *A Brief History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases, etc.* (Hartford, 1799), I, 230.

¹⁸ Hewat, *op. cit.*, I, 316-317; Carroll, *op. cit.*, I, 273-274.

¹⁹ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, II, 84; John Lining, *A Description of the American Yellow Fever, which prevailed at Charleston, in South Carolina, in the Year 1748* (Philadelphia, 1799), p. 5.

nounced the infection yellow fever.²⁰ Subsequently Lining wrote one of the best clinical descriptions of yellow fever to come out of the colonial period.²¹ Unfortunately no statistics are available as to the extent of the outbreak. The *South Carolina Gazette*, as was often the case with colonial newspapers in dealing with local epidemics, gave surprisingly little space to the sickness. In the middle of July the paper noted that a few persons had "died suddenly of Fevers lately." On August 5, an editorial in the paper commented on the fact "that even at this Time of uncommon Mortality, there are few, very few, who are concern'd for Appearances, when they assist at the funeral Solemnities of their departed Neighbours." A week later a news item stated that a group of Chickasaw Indians, who had come to pay their compliments to the governor, were met on the outskirts "on Account of the Sickness in Town." By the end of September the *Gazette* was able to announce, "The Town at present is very healthy, except some few with an intermitting Fever."²² One of the ministers in town wrote later in the fall that his congregation had been diminished by the recent sickness,²³ and Governor Johnson reported on December 15, "The province healthy; the great sickness that carried off so many last summer over."²⁴

The next outbreak of yellow fever to trouble Charleston occurred in 1739. David Ramsay, an early South Carolina historian, declares that the contagion was not quite so bad as the previous epidemic in 1732, but that it was most fatal to Europeans.²⁵ James Kilpatrick, a contemporary Charleston physician, spoke of the epidemic as a "bilious fever" probably imported from Africa or the "Caribbee-Islands."²⁶ The two S. P. G. ministers in the city both reported heavy losses among their congregations from the disease; one of them noting, "It has, indeed, been a Sickly Season everywhere, especially in Town, where a Pestilential Fever carried off an abundance of its Male Inhabitants, but, God be praised, it made little Progress in ye Country."²⁷ On December 5, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* carried a report from Charleston stating that "the Yellow Fever is abated, but has been very

²⁰ William Currie, *An Historical Account of the Climates and Diseases of the U. S.* (Phila., 1792), p. 389.

²¹ John Lining, *op. cit.*

²² (L. C. Photo.), no. 28, July 15; no. 29, August 5; no. 30, August 12; no. 36, September 23, 1732.

²³ Thomas Hassell to Secretary, November 10, 1732, S. P. G. MSS (L. C. Photo.), London Letters, A 24, fp. 273.

²⁴ To Duke of Newcastle in *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society* (Charleston, 1857), I, 248.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, II, 84.

²⁶ *An Essay on Innoculation, occasioned by the small-pox being brought into South Carolina in the year 1738.* . . . (London, 1743), p. 56.

²⁷ Andrew Leslie to Secretary, St. Paul's, January 7, 1740, S. P. G. MSS (L. C. Photo.), London Letters, B 7, part 2, fpp. 593-594; see also letter of Stephen Roe, B 7, part 2, fpp. 591-592.

mortal."²⁸ Ramsay's assertion that the sickness was most fatal to Europeans is logical, since slaves, coming from the African West Coast, the hearth area for yellow fever, possessed more immunity to it. The minister's notation on the failure of the disease to spread into the country is another indication of the frequency with which this characteristic limitation of yellow fever to a small area was observed.

John Lining mentions an outbreak of yellow fever in Charleston in 1745 but supplies no details.²⁹ David Ramsay, who may have been using Lining as a source, added only that it was of "less violence" than the previous attack in 1739.³⁰ However, one of the S. P. G. missionaries reported to the home office in November, 1745: "Charles-Town, is now, and has been for some time past, very much afflicted with a great and Malignant Sickness called the Yellow Feaver, in which they die Suddenly, that no business can Scarce be transacted in so much that the General Assembly has been Prorogu'd several times on account of said Sickness."³¹ He added that one of his fellow ministers was dangerously ill, presumably from the fever.

In all probability, yellow fever remained to plague the city for the next few years. All of the eighteenth century historians are agreed that the disease occurred in epidemic form in 1745 and 1748. However, letters from the ministers indicate the continued presence of the infection for several successive summers. In the spring of 1747 the Reverend Levi Durand denounced the blasphemy, immorality, and heresy in the province and complained, "tho for these things the Lord does yearly visit, sending Pestilential Diseases amongst Men and Beasts, which yearly Sweeps away Numbers of Both, yet none Regard these things, but as tho' nothing were the Matter, Sad Omen!" He dolefully regretted that he was constrained to stay in one of "the dark corners of the world."³² Later in this same year, John Fordyce wrote, "Since I came here, there is not now a Family, but what one, two, or more have Died out of it; and Especially most of the Heads which (to my Grief) have very much reduc'd my Congregation."³³

In 1748 yellow fever again flared up on an epidemic scale in Charleston. Although nearly all contemporary writers mention the outbreak, surprisingly little specific information is available as to its virulence or extent. One of the S. P. G. ministers in South Carolina apologized to the Society

²⁸ No. 572, December 5, 1739.

²⁹ Currie, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

³⁰ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

³¹ John Fordyce to Secretary, Prince Frederick's, November 4, 1745, in S. P. G. MSS (L. C. Photo.), London Letters, B 12, fp. 258; see also Currie, *op. cit.*, p. 389 for Charleston epidemic.

³² To Secretary, Christ Church, April 23, 1747, in S. P. G. MSS (L. C. Photo.), London Letters, B 15, fp. 318.

³³ To Secretary, October 6, 1747, *ibid.*, B 15, fp. 341.

for not writing sooner, explaining that a "mortal Fever" in Charleston prevented any of the country people from entering the city.³⁴ No other mention of the disease occurs for several years but the infection was undoubtedly present. A new arrival in Charleston wrote back home in March, 1751: "After a most dangerous Passage of three Months, I arriv'd at C. Town the 14th of Novr. with my Family all in good Health, which, by God's Favour, we yet continue to enjoy, notwithstanding the prodigious Sickness of the Country since we came here. Various Kinds of Fevers rage fatally, and Fluxes carry off Numbers. This must be shocking to the New-Comers; shocking I am sure it was to me and my Family. But now that we stand whole and well, amidst the daily Complaints of sick People, wch by use begin to lose much of their Terror, we shall, I trust in God by a due Care of Health, long enjoy that great Blessing."³⁵ According to David Ramsay, a few cases of yellow fever developed in both 1753 and 1755.³⁶ Supporting Ramsay's assertion, the *South Carolina Gazette* commented in June, 1755, that the bills of mortality showed many more deaths among adults during the two previous years than was customary.³⁷ Here again, the evidence indicates the probability that the infection was endemic in the late 1740's and early 1750's.

One last outbreak of what may have been yellow fever developed in Charleston in 1761, when Noah Webster reports that a "Bilious infectious fever" was in the town.³⁸ Although Webster frequently uses the term bilious infectious disorder in connection with yellow fever, and the presence of this latter infection in Charleston during the preceding years makes it a likely suspect, yet the evidence is too scant for an accurate diagnosis. Many fevers plagued Charleston in colonial days, and the outbreak described by Webster could easily have been typhoid, typhus or some other sickness.

Interestingly enough, yellow fever struck Philadelphia in 1762, and then disappeared from the American colonies until the 1790's. Just why the disease, after periodically ravaging New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston for the first sixty-odd years of the eighteenth century, should have suddenly disappeared for the last thirty, remains a puzzle to medical historians. The yellow fever mosquito was undoubtedly present in the southern coastal areas and conditions were at least as favorable for the infection

³⁴ Charles Boschi to Secretary, St. Bartholomew's, February 10, 1749, S. P. G. MSS (L. C. Photo.), London Letters, B 16-17, fpp. 345-346.

³⁵ William Langhorne to Secretary, St. Bartholomew's, March 18, 1751, S. P. G. MSS (L. C. Photo.), London Letters, B 18, fp. 470.

³⁶ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

³⁷ No. 1095, June 13, 1755, in "Newspapers of South Carolina," Toner Collection MS, Library of Congress.

³⁸ Webster, *op. cit.*, I, 250.

as in the earlier years. Whatever the reason, Charleston, like the other major cities, was free from the menace of yellow fever for the rest of the colonial period.

The horrifying nature of yellow fever and its frightful case-mortality have obscured the fact that it was a relatively minor disease insofar as colonial health was concerned. The infection was localized in and around the leading ports and, in colonial times at least, it apparently never progressed far from the waterfront. True, particular epidemics took a heavy toll and temporarily set back the development of cities such as Charleston. Yet the disease did not appear until the eighteenth century and the major outbreaks were well spaced. While yellow fever was attracting attention through its spectacular method of wreaking death and destruction, other more familiar contagions such as malaria and dysentery were constantly weeding out the old and the young, the sick and the ailing, and in the long run, proving far more disastrous to colonial health. Yet this fact, even if it had been recognized, would have been small consolation to the residents of Charleston who witnessed the death agonies of their friends and relatives from this strange and unaccountable pestilence.

CONFEDERATE EXILES IN LONDON, 1865-1870:
THE WIGFALLS

Contributed by SARAH AGNES WALLACE

(Continued from July)

MRS. WIGFALL TO HALSEY

London, Oct. 13, 1869.

I believe Louly's was the last letter to you, my dearest son, and that was written some three weeks ago, so I cannot let this mail go without giving you some tidings of us, altho' I have nothing new or very interesting to tell you. You may be sure that as soon as we know of any good news, you will be informed of it. I get sometimes very, very *triste*, but cannot allow myself to give up hope of some arrangement financially, for in that case, what should we do? I have already had since Mamma left me £450, and am afraid I have almost exhausted her capacity to help me, although her property is estimated at about \$50,000, and she has told me that she would give me $\frac{1}{4}$, which would be equal to \$15,000. Only a portion of her property brings her in any income. At least $\frac{2}{3}$ consists of land, which altho' taxed very heavily, is totally unproductive, and the only income she has to depend on is drawn from her bank stock, which of course she has to sell out when she sends me money. So you see why upon her small available means, I have, during the last years, made a very considerable inroad, and I feel the utmost reluctance, almost horror, at calling upon her. She has treated me so kindly and generously that it makes it doubly horrid for me to even imagine that I am causing her inconvenience and trouble in her old age. But what can we do? Since a year ago last June, all resources have been failure, and what I have had from her is all we have had to live on. Even that has not sufficed to pay our expenses. It has only served to pay our bills in part and keep our trades people from annoying us. We are still heavily in debt, and as I say, cannot allow ourselves to suppose it possible for this matter to fail. Your Father has gone down today to see about it. He thinks matters will be brought to a close very soon, and if the man with whom he is dealing can be believed, I suppose it will. I have written you frankly about our affairs, because I think it only right that you should know the truth, and also to let you understand why I feel so much disheartened and out of spirits very often. I would give worlds that we were all safely with you in New Orleans, for I believe it would be our best plan, let this matter end as it may.

I am delighted to see that you are becoming contented with your busi-

ness and so much interested in it. With your talents and steadiness combined you must and will succeed, your letter of Sep. 19 has gone far to assure me of it. I agree with you perfectly on the entire expediency of making Genl Maury and those connected with him feel your usefulness to the Co. and its interests, but I trust their generosity and sense of justice will prevent their allowing you to confine yourself too much, without compensation, to this office business to the exclusion of your out-door work. All accounts agree about the improved condition of things in the South this year, and I trust, my dear Child, that brighter times may be in store for our poor land. The Cotton Circular you sent came to hand, also two "*Picayunes*" today. And last week your friend, Captain Lancaster, presented his letters and himself, and a queer enough customer he is. However we treated him very kindly and he dined with us and seemed much gratified at his reception—thanks to your endorsement. He is a good-hearted little creature and perfectly unsophisticated, but O! how unlike what one is accustomed to see. Luckily he has gone to Devonport to look after some money which has been due to him for a long time, and as soon as he gets it, he says he shall return, for he is utterly disgusted with England. The fact is the little man is awfully homesick, and the tears streamed down his face as he talked of wife and children. That and his high appreciation of you, made up with me for all deficiencies, and we all talked away with him as if we had known him all our lives. I am glad you keep up the correspondence with Mr. Bristow and believe you are right in thinking that he cares for us, and I suppose that between you the taxes on the land²⁴ have been paid. You must not forget that carelessness in that particular may forfeit the bonds.

I should be delighted to hear that I have now any prospect of the railroad stocks being recovered. If your Father were on the spot, I am certain something could be done, for he knows Scott, Hale *et omne genus* thoroughly. When you write to Mr. Bristow, give him my regards and ask him particularly to tell you for me about the negroes. Mamma says in her last letter that poor old Maum Nanny in Charleston is paralyzed, and she has just sent her \$20,—as she has no one to look to now for help but her step-son, and you know among negroes that would be but poor help. Do you ever hear anything of Mr. Blanch[?] And has he still his place as Engineer to the R.R.Co? You have not mentioned your Uncle George's wife, and your cousins lately. Have you any interviews with them, and what kind of people are they really? I thought the photograph Mamma has of Kate was very pretty, and I only hope her mother has brought her up well. Your letters are a source of great comfort to us all, my dear child, and I am so glad to

²⁴ Wigfall property at Marshall, Texas.

see that you are anticipating a pleasant winter. Mr. Lancaster says you know everybody, and that he feels to you as if you were *his* brother, or rather as if he were *your* brother—to which proposition I more than ever object. Your Father and Louly are out, and Fanny is downstairs. All would send love. Adieu, my dear Son,

Your devoted Mother
C. M. W.

LOUISE TO HALSEY

55 Lexington St. [Baltimore.]
March 1, 1870.

My dearest Brother,

We have had any number of letters from you and Papa lately that Mamma has thought it ought to reproach herself and us for not having written to you more frequently, and Papa drew in his last such a pathetic picture of you and he reading the library books in the evening together to kill time, that it moved me to impose on you this present infliction. I saw your friend Bec yesterday. She and Carrie Gwin and Henley have just returned from New York where they have been for ten days on "a lark". They seem to have enjoyed it very much, spending all their substance in nonsense. I gave Bec the message, and she says, "Henley has a cough now and may go into a decline; in the meantime it is satisfactory to tell you that she [Bec] is blooming". As a few minutes before she was, however, expatiating on Henley's beautiful appearance in a sealskin cap she had given him, I am afraid the above signifies nothing. Carrie Gwin is going to California with Mr. Mueller, Bec's uncle-in-law. She says in elegant language that she is "dead broke", and is going home. Miss Leconte, who seems to have made such an impression upon you, still pursues her intellectual way. She wandered about the house for some time with the Robiducians in hand, and I saw this morning at breakfast that she had gone to the "Polar World" for instruction. I would she would light in the temperate zone for a permanent settlement and be more moderate in her flights of learning.

Mrs. Morgan made a solemn pilgrimage with a melancholy party of girls to Washington to see the carnival. They wanted especially to see the procession. Mr. Morgan never likes to be hurried, so while they eat their funeral meats (took dinner, that is, in G's company) the procession passed down another way, and they came back as wise as they went. I don't think he cared; he had his dinner anyway and was not hastened in the eating of it. Col. Sutherland has left here and gone to housekeeping where he cooks his breakfast and says he enjoys it immensely, but I expect it is right forlorn for him, poor fellow! He is at present dramatizing "Martin

Chuzzlewit" and brought the first act to me to submit to my criticism. It is very funny and clever, but like all his work, he will never finish it. It is that want of purpose and perseverance which has made him the disappointed man he is.

Giraud²⁵ and I go on our same old way. I spend a great deal of my time in Reade St., and the family are as fond of me as I could wish. He and I have been doing a little Lenten church-going lately, and I hope you will do the same. The English service is so lovely that I assure you, it would be no penance. Mamma says that I must tell you that she hunted out your place on the map and has found just where you live. I do so hope that you will not have long to wait in weary expectation. In the meantime I think there is one matter about which I think you ought to see. Grandma wrote to Mamma about it, and she wrote to old Bristow a month ago and has received no answer. I mean the Rail Road land affair. Grandma encloses this extract today, and it is evident that something will be done in the matter and make the property of value. But if the taxes are not paid, we will lose the whole thing. Mamma begs that you will write to some one in Marshall in reference to the affair, and suggests your friend Jim Pope, and says that he can get the money to pay the taxes. I have great hopes too of the cotton loan. Some good fortune must be in store for us as a reward for much endurance on our part and the most patient endeavor to succeed of my dear Brother. Mamma says if you do not care to write, send her Pope's address, and she will do so. We all send best love to you both. You do not know that a comfort you are to us, my darling Brother, and how much we think of your unselfishness and the good care you take of dear Papa. Tell him my next shall be to him, and you can be interpreter. Goodbye and believe me,

Your devoted Sister,

LOUISE

[Clipping enclosed: No date or name.]

The bill incorporating the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, which has passed both houses but goes back to the Senate for concurrence in the House amendments, includes among the names of corporators, John C. Fremont, Charles Jackson, Elisha Dyer, and Alfred Anthony. The capital stock is not to exceed forty millions, and the corporation is authorized to construct a continuous railroad and telegraph line with the appurtenances, from a point on the eastern boundary of the State of Texas, at or near Marshall, to the ship channel in the Bay of San Diego in the State of California, pursuing in the location thereof, as near as may be, the route known as the thirty-second parallel of north latitude. The charter forbids consolidation with any competing through line of railroad to the Pacific.

²⁵ D. Giraud Wright of Baltimore, to whom she was married in 1871.

LOUISE TO HALSEY

79 Gloucester Place, [London]
November 7, 1870.

Your letter to me, dearest Brother, was received a few days since, written from Jacksonport, Ark.; we were very glad to hear an account of you in your new quarters. I was particularly charmed because you were rather more confidential than usual. If you would oftener write so, I should like it better. Your great fault, if it can be termed so harshly, is your great reserve. You can talk of everything but yourself. This is a good beginning—let us hope it will continue.

Fannie and I are quite alone. Papa and Mamma left yesterday with Grandma for Liverpool to see her off safely. She sails on the "Scotia", which is the finest boat on the ocean. I believe and I have no doubt [she] will have a pleasant passage, as far as comfort goes, though I greatly fear they will have it rather rough. It is bitter cold today. Grandmamma only made up her mind a few weeks ago to leave at this time. She is getting old now and I think was uneasy at being away from what she calls her "home"—although she is devoted to Mamma and seemed to enjoy her visit very much. In addition she feels that Aunt F's children have been left as a sort of charge to her and she is constantly uneasy and fretted when away from them. Alice is not strong, has the asthma, and Mrs. Bricklin's health is not good—So, although it was a great trial to her, I have no doubt, to part with Mamma and us all, she determined to go. She is in fine health, has excellent spirits, and I tell Mamma that Mrs. Bricklin talks of bringing Alice to Europe in a year or so. There is no reason why Grandmamma should not return with them for another visit. I expect Mamma and Papa back to-night. Grandmamma goes alone, but the Kings are on board (Minnie King from Georgia), and Mrs. Ferguson gave her a letter to a friend of theirs, and Papa knows a man going over, so she will be all right for company. Josephine [Lard] sails from Havre this week too; and so you see from my being here that I have given up all idea of going across the water. I want very much to be away from London this winter if I can—*Mais J'en doute—*

I had a visit the other day from your friend and Emmie Mary Haxall, or rather Mary Haxall Cameron, for she had been married about two months and is now on her wedding tour. Mr. Alexander Cameron is a Scotchman living in Richmond, and the match is a good one in all respects, brilliant even, as far as money goes in Richmond. I never saw any one so brimming over with happiness, and when I told her so, she replied, "You know I have always so enjoyed everything so thoroughly", and it is the truth. I doubt if she has a serious trouble in her life and probably never will have many. She takes things always in their brightest aspects and never regards

them as evil. She is full of her diamonds, which she is to have, and her dresses and laces and so on. Some things I fully understand and just as ever—which is pleasant and amusing—but when you look for anything deeper—I am afraid she is wanting. She is all surface, charming enough though to please most men and women too for that matter. She is to live in Richmond and have Thursday evening receptions,—and says she is not in love with Mr. Cameron because “she has always heard that persons in that state lose their appetites.” She has an excellent appetite, therefore, she argues, she is not in love. She says the family are charmed with the match, “for they all thought she would be sure to marry some dissipated little man with a black moustache”! And so she goes on. I laughed a great deal and enjoyed her wit very much. They are to pass through on their return from the Continent, and I may see her again. I find Mary has taken up a great space in my letter, but I thought it might amuse you. The Seymours leave this month for Va. to buy an estate, she says. She is a good little (or big) woman, but I don’t find her quite thoroughbred. She is an admirer of yours, however, and that with me is a good deal. The McHenrys are back from America, and the Williams are still here. He is not in good health, nor, I fear, in fine spirits. The Hamiltons are just the same. The poor Ripleys have been having a rather hard time, and Mrs. R. and little Alicia are now on a visit to Mrs. Hamilton, temporarily of course, but still it is not pleasant to be under even temporary obligation to people. Be careful not to say anything of this, for they have had many troubles, and Mrs. R. is very sensitive about its being known in America. If Mott M. Preston [?] had paid her what he owed, there would have been no trouble. Gen. R. has sent to sue him. I believe they can get no replies to letters from him, and that is the only course to pursue.

I am deep in “Shirley”, so you must let me stop now and go on with my third volume. If you want a pretty novel, read “Nathalie”, Miss Kavanaugh. Do not stop writing. We all admire your poetry, and I see a great deal in the future for you if you persevere. Why should you not succeed? You have talent and imagination and sentiment (feeling, I mean) and above all to me—good taste. Try something more than fugitive pieces. I think the “Love Song” grand. It is the spirit as well as the poetry I like. I wish to Heaven more of our men had the like. It makes us a little uneasy, for we fear you may do something imprudent and get into trouble. Do be careful. The time is not yet come, and you are everything to us all. Mama told me specially that I must write today, and Fannie sends love. She is taller than I and calls me “little”. She is a dear child, and we are very fond of each other. I wish you could see my pet “Peter Piper”. He is a beauty and so tame, with a black wing and “most superb eyes”. You will doubtless recognize my canary bird in that description. I am writing with a vile pen,

but I do as I would be done by. I always fancy a letter that is hard to read. I doubt not you will fancy this if you are of the same mind. I will write soon again, and believe, my dearest Brother, that I am Ever your devoted Sister

LOUISE.

LOUISE TO HALSEY

21 Read Street, [Baltimore]

Dec. 24, 1871.

My dearest Brother,

Today is Christmas Eve, and I cannot let the day go by without sending you a greeting. Your letter came yesterday and gave me a fit of the blues, —to think of you and Papa all alone, and sick, and miserable generally. I wish the old mine was in the bottom of the Red Sea and you safe on this with us. I fully thought you would have been here with us on Xmas Day and am more disappointed than I can tell you. Giraud and I are going up to Mamma's²⁶ to spend to-night and to-morrow with them all. You don't know how nice and comfortable they all are. It does me good every time I go there. Mamma seems so well and is happy in spite of the mine troubles, though she says she can't bear to feel comfortable while she knows you are all so worried.

You may be sure we will think of you tomorrow and drink your health. Giraud is in his room shaving, while I write, and I have just laid down my pen to say for the thousandth time in his hearing that you are "the dearest of brothers and the best man that ever lived." And he says in reply, "Well, I wish he would stop a week when he comes through." I do so hope you will. We have been snowed up for the last few days, but it is Xmas weather, and nobody minds. Last night we had a Xmas tree for the children who are here now, my new nephews and nieces, (It would amuse you to hear me called "Aunt Lulie".) and they were highly delighted. After tea I came upstairs and dressed Giraud up as an old man, and Clint as an old woman, and amid much applause they acquitted themselves finely in a bit of burlesque tragedy.

Dec. 29,—You see I stopped here, dearest Brother, and have waited until today to finish. Mamma and Fan sent you all letters by the last steamer. We went, as I said we intended, and spent Xmas Eve and Xmas Day with Mamma. We tried to be lively, but in spite of our efforts your absence made it *un peu triste*. I think anniversaries are always so when families are separated.

²⁶ Although General Wigfall and Halsey were still in London, Mrs. Wigfall and Fanny had returned to America, perhaps at the time of Louise's marriage to Giraud Wright, and were now in Baltimore.

Tuesday evening we went to see Humpty Dumpty. From this house I took one of Giraud's little nephews, and it was refreshing to see his enjoyment of the old wornout jokes. It was his first experience of the theatre. I laughed too, and as for Giraud, he giggled at every thing and laughed so when the clown pelted Pantaloon with bricks from behind a stone wall, that I rose in astonishment till I suddenly remembered that it was Xmas and the pantomime; I laughed too.

Fannie, Mamma, and Grandma dined on Tuesday at the Izards,²⁷ and then finished up by going to the German (i.e., Fannie and Josephine). Fannie has a delightful time and always receives a great deal of attention whenever she goes out. She is a very handsome, showy girl, and is quite known for her good dancing. The Mr. Glenn of whom you hear so much, is a widower of 47, or thereabouts, with two sons aged about nine and eleven, a man of society, editor of the Gazette, and reputed rich, very unpopular, though nothing alleged against him except his conceit and disagreeable manner to those whom he does not fancy. He dabbles in the arts and in horse racing, is very clever, says good things, has rather a sharp tongue, keen insight into character, fine cultivation and is altogether to me a very agreeable man. He has been exceedingly attentive to Fannie, and I think from all I can judge that upon the first hint, he means to speak, though naturally there being such a disparity between them, he is reluctant to run the risk of a refusal. He is, as far as position and money go, one of the best matches in Baltimore, and barring the two sons, there would be no objection except his age. I have let things alone, and when Fannie begins to prattle about him, I fight shy of the subject. He may after all only be very pleased, and the matter may end there. I only tell you this as a matter of gossip and to keep you *en courant*.

New Year's Day comes on apace, and I had rather be whipped than dress up at 11 o'clock A.M. and talk trash till six P.M., but I suppose there is no escape. Fannie will receive with Josephine as it is a gayer house than this and not so many women to receive.

The whole town is wild about the Wharton poisoning case and likely to be so for some time as there seems to be no end to the evidence. She is so hinged up with some of the best people here that it has created a profound impression, and we talk of little else. The first thing after breakfast, the paper is seized and devoured, and then we have to wait till the next day again. Every one believes her guilty, and unless the defense can bring something startling, it is all up with her.

It is a dreadful day, raining and freezing as it falls, and I cannot help

²⁷ Ralph Stead Izard of South Carolina had died in 1858, and his widow had settled in Baltimore. Their daughter Josephine in 1876 was married to William deCourcy May.

thinking of you and Papa in London, wearying and waiting for your business to be concluded. I do trust in Heaven, my dearest Brother, that you will soon be with us again. I will stop now as Giraud will be going out and will post this for me. Giraud sends his love and says that he hopes you will be over soon and he can be able to see something of you. Give my best love to dear Papa, and wishing you the happiest of New Years and God's blessing in all things, believe me, my darling Brother,

Your devoted Sister,
LOUISE S. WRIGHT

21 Read St.

Mrs. D. Giraud Wright.

A SOUTHERN GENTEELIST: LETTERS BY PAUL HAMILTON
HAYNE TO JULIA C. R. DORR

Edited by CHARLES DUFFY

(Continued from July)

VIII

"Copse Hill" Georgia
April 30th 1882

My dear Mrs Dorr;—

I *must* write to tell you how struck we were by your fine Sonnets upon Longfellow's death in "The C. Union"!⁶⁰ They stand in the very *first* rank of "In Memoriams" upon our great and noble singer; and this is saying a great deal, for it is really extraordinary how much admirable verse his decease has called forth.

There is a marked *stateliness* in the *first* Sonnet, which leads artistically up to the affectionate enthusiasm of the last; in which you have struck a *chord* sure to elicit a general and generous response.

Yes! They are fine Sonnets. Enclosed I venture to send you two poems in the same measure upon the same theme.⁶¹ Composed while I was too sick to do either the *subject* or *myself* anything like justice,—their perusal *may* nevertheless, interest you, first because of several *co-incidences* of thought, or fancy.

Firstly, about the freed spirit of our Poet encountering his immortal "peers"; and *secondly*, the introduction of the "image" of the "Nightingale", *yours* of Heaven, mine of *earth*.

There's no *comparison*, as I cheerfully acknowledge, between these pieces, yours being vastly superior; but 'tis curious (is'nt it),? how *two* writers, working a thousand miles apart, *will* sometimes hit upon the same (*general*) train of reflection, metaphor, or imaginative illustration?—

A still more remarkable example of this occurs in *Sonnets* which appeared in the last "NY Independent", one by Philip Bourke Marston on Longfellow, and the other by myself to Marston, as "Philip My King."⁶²

Did you chance to see them?

I sent, (or rather, *my wife* sent for me) (but too late I fear), *another* poem upon *Xmas*; which seemed better than the *first*.⁶³ Did it reach you?

⁶⁰ Published under the title, "Recognition (H. W. L.);" in the *Christian Union*, XXV, 392 (April 27, 1882).

⁶¹ "Longfellow Dead," *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne*, p. 312.

⁶² "At Parting," by Philip Bourke Marston, *The Independent*, XXXIV (March 2, 1882) 1; "Philip My King," by Hayne, *ibid.*, XXXIV (April 20, 1882), 1.

⁶³ One was probably "A Christmas Lyric," *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne*, pp. 327-328; the other, "Starry Christmas," see letter IX, was omitted.

Let me hear from you, *when convenient*.

I appreciate your genius *very warmly*, and what is *more* than genius, you possess a *noble woman's heart*. As to the former, it seems to me, to be always growing; while the powers of other women of literary fame, I could mention—remains in *statu quo*.

Always Most *Cordially* your friend and servant

PAUL H HAYNE

IX

"Copse Hill", Georgia Railroad.

May 16th 1882

My Dear Mrs Dorr;—

Your letters are to me a *benefaction*! You see, they are so kind, sympathetic; and have a *double* value to one who lives afar from the world.

It *was* indeed, as you remark, an odd coincidence, that "after receiving the "Starry Xmas", you should have chanced upon my "Xmas lyric". Am glad that the latter suited your purpose.

Apropos of my wife, having sent you the last mentioned verses, you say that "I must thank God every day of my life for so sweet, and helpful a consort." Indeed, my friend, you are *right*. What I should do without "my winsome Marrow," (to borrow a pregnant phrase of old Randolph the Scotch poet),⁶⁴ it is simply impossible for me in the wildest dreams of imagination to conceive! She has been to me not merely a wife (the best and truest), but, if I may thus express myself,—a comrade, a "she-comrade", as Dennis of Burgundy in Reade's great "Cloister and Hearth", used to term the noble "Betrothed" of Gerard son of Eli, and father subsequently of the celebrated Erasmus.

For myself, you thank me very sweetly for certain words of appreciation touching your poems. It *always* gives me such heartfelt delight to recognize, and commend the *true* art-work of my brother or sister laborers in the realm of Literature.

And verily, in *your* work, I cannot but perceive ever increasing proofs of progress. That in your *own* mind and heart you should *feel* such development, is but natural. As for the *Sonnet*, as a special vehicle of poetical expression, I thoroughly agree with your view.⁶⁵ Why, *in the name of all Muses*, should this form be considered "artificial"; at all events, any more

⁶⁴ See postscript to Letter X.

⁶⁵ Evidently "To a Critic" and "To a Poet," under the title "The Sonnet" in Dorr, *Poems*, pp. 241-242. These are in defence of the form and deny that it is merely a "cunning device." For Hayne's part in *The Book of the Sonnet* (Boston, 1867), see Duffy, *Correspondence of Taylor and Hayne*, pp. 11-14.

"artificial" than the Spenserian stanza, or any other somewhat intricate pattern of versification?

Once, perhaps, I *did* feel (for a time) as Miss Ingelow does, concerning our English "fourteens," but a candid investigation of the question, has resulted in my assuming quite an opposite ground. 'Tis a matter of "temperament," doubtless, as you say;—and those who have "no call" to write *Sonnets* ought by all means to eschew them; and *vice versa*.

Anyway, the important fact remains that much of the subtlest, noblest, most imaginative poetry of the English tongue has taken this form of the *Sonnet*!

You are kind to say of my "Longfellow sonnets" that you "like them very much", but alas! they fall so far beneath the subject!

Now *yours are equal to it! Can one say more?*—

Emerson I did not know personally; (i e) I met him but *once* in the course of my life; (*viz*), at a large dinner party in Boston about the year 1854-5, at which Longfellow and Lowell were present.⁶⁶ But I have studied his *works*; and I *trust* that I appreciate his rare, and thoughtful genius. His book upon "England" is a masterpiece;⁶⁷ but I could wish that his *Essays* were *some* of them *clearer*, and informed by a loftier spirit of Faith; instead of that vague species of half-Pantheistic philosophy, which after all, is pre-eminently unoriginal, a mere *elaborated echo* of the "Neo-Platonism" of Alexandria in the 4th and 5th centuries.

Why are men *so* anxious to leave "the Christ," and to worship at altars, which only present a *rechauffée* of ancient, heathen, and long exploded beliefs?

Somehow, (I may be wrong), but somehow I picture *Ralph Waldo Emerson* as (spiritually), a very *unhappy* man, just because he was continually seeking God, and *never* (alas!) *finding Him, nor even coming near to Him!*

He was a *genuine* Poet, and one of peculiar gifts. For example, how beautiful and pathetic that threnody on his Brother's death!⁶⁸ Swinburne, (who had a violent quarrel with Emerson about—I really forget *what*) wrote me, after this difficulty, something to the effect, that I must *not* think, because of the disagreement, that he (*Swinburne*) failed to appreciate the force and beauty of Emerson's poetical genius, instancing enthusiastically this very "threnody."

Your kind words concerning our boy Willie (an only child) and his verses, gave us great satisfaction. You comprehend; for is not your "Harry" travelling the *same* road?

⁶⁶ See Hayne's letter to Lowell, April 5, 1885, in McKeithan, *A Collection of Hayne Letters*, pp. 104-105.

⁶⁷ *English Traits* (Boston, 1856).

⁶⁸ "Threnody," Emerson's poem on his son, who died January 28, 1842.

By the way, be sure to send me a copy of his Poem, when he has delivered it before the "Alumni of his Alma Mater" next summer.

Very right you are concerning our friend Stedman's article upon *Lowell*.⁶⁹ The truth is that Stedman belongs to the class of what I call, "inspired Critics"; i e men of deepest subtlety of intellect, and finest logical instincts, combined with that imagination which rules, and coordinates the other faculties, and thus arrives at the *truth* by processes wholly unknown to the ratiocination of inferior minds.

One learns a vast deal from his critiques, which are so luminous, just, incisive, yet always good-natured, if indeed there be any room for good nature. Otherwise, his rapier pierces swiftly and deeply; as where (very properly), he holds up this affected young sprig of Irish, or half-Irish nobility to general scorn, and then finishes him by a *coup de grace*!

(Of course I allude to that portion of the Lowell paper which under cover of a quotation from "Hamlet" about "the water fly," annihilates the young *Aesthete* so many fools have been worshipping on this side of the Atlantic!).⁷⁰

And now with affectionate regards from my wife, please believe me

Most Cordially yours

PAUL H HAYNE

P S. My wife sent you this morning a newspaper sketch of myself, and I did not think then that I would be able to write you for several days, but luckily have found some moments to do so.

I have never seen anything of your son's but a piece addressed to Stoddard, which I thought *excellent*. My Willie has rather surprized me in his rapid development of late, for his earlier rhymes exhibited little or no promise, and therefore, I studiously forebore from encouraging him.

I enclose you what I think (so far) one of his best efforts.

It is (*me judice*) an admirable (realistic) picture of our Ga. swamps⁷¹, and could be *fully appreciated* only by a Southerner. Please return it, and say frankly what you think of it.

Also, I enclose a lyric of my own; a little popular song about the *Plow*⁷², taken from the *Louisville* (Ky) "Home and Farm".

If perfectly convenient, I am tempted to beg you to have it re-published North.

⁶⁹ "James Russell Lowell," *Century Magazine*, XXIV (May 1882), 97-111.

⁷⁰ Oscar Wilde. The water-fly reference occurs *ibid.*, p. 100.

⁷¹ "In the Heart of the Swamp," by William H. Hayne appeared in *Scribner's Magazine*, LIII (April, 1913) 499.

⁷² "King of the Plow," in *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne*, p. 311.

X

"Copse Hill", Ga., May 30th 1882

(Will my friend excuse the unconventional pencil and paper?—I employ them, because, being feeble, they tax my poor remnant of strength far less than the use of the *pen* &c)

My dear Friend;

Your kind letter of the 22nd inst duly arrived, and need I say, afforded me *much* pleasure? It was very thoughtful in you to send "The King of [the] Plow" to the "Boston Transcript," certainly the best literary journal in that great metropolis. Its Editor, Mr *Hurd*⁷³, I know *personally*; and thoroughly like. He struck me as being a kindly, considerate gentleman; who looked, (as alack! so many of our modern Editors do), *overworked*, and *fatigued*.

As for the *lyric* itself, I am profoundly gratified to have your commendation; perhaps a trifle triumphant too; for a certain literary friend of mine in N York (a man of brilliant parts), expressed himself as *amazed* at my attempting *such* a prosaic theme as "The Plow," and evidently deemed the *Song* a mere *mechanical* affair from beginning to end!

"There's a *something* about these verses" (he writes in effect), which impresses me with the idea, that you scribbled them hastily off (to *order*) and felt much relieved at the completion of the job. (!)"—

Now *your* verdict "knocks" all this, to use a Printer's expression, "into *pii*"! You must let me *especially* thank you for the cordial expressions about Willie's "Swamp". They delighted him, of course, no less than his parents. *Apropos* of that piece, I am sure you are correct in saying that "the *two* or *three* instances which seem unpoetical" are necessary to the verisimilitude of the picture!"—

And here, I must tell you that I have, in turn, read *your* boy's poems with unusual care and pleasure. The evidences in them of inherited poetical power, are manifest, and marked. "Blue Violets," "A Greeting," "Over the Hills" I particularly like; so also, I enjoyed "Chickadee", in "St Nicholas" for March 1881—a simple, natural, picturesque lyric, with just that sort of musical effect, which one enjoys in a performance of the kind. Upon the whole, however, I think that "Doom and Wisdom", (in "Transcript"), has more "body of thought" than any of the others⁷⁴. The conception is striking; and well carried out.

⁷³ John Codman Hurd (1816–1892), born in Boston; his obituary appeared in the *Transcript* June 25, 1892.

⁷⁴ For "Chickadee," see *St. Nicholas*, VIII, 340 (May, 1881). "Doom and Wisdom,"⁷⁵ I have not found.

I seem to be able, in some measure, to look down into that great, warm, motherly heart of yours;—and to recognize its affectionate pride in the son who is destined perhaps still further to extend the honors of your name.

Tell your *Harry* from me, that I, his outworn Elder and humble Priest in Apollo's temple, that "I, dying, salute him!". May he win many verdant *Bays*, and wear them *long*!

Concerning *Emerson*, I doubt not that you knew him *far far better* than I. Others (his intimates) agree with you in declaring him self-centered, and "serene as a God!"—Still, now and then, indeed *not* infrequently, it has seemed to me that *one* reading between his lines, or rather looking deep below the surfaces of his brilliant aphoristic language, detects a certain *unrest*, perturbation, perplexity of movement;—that commotion, in fact, which however slow, and hidden, surely betokens spiritual trouble. With the clearest, most incisive style conceivable, the man's *soul* (I believe) was seldom clear, I mean in regard to the "loftier Verities". His "serenity," therefore, must have been rather *temperamental* than *fundamental*.

I read the *two* articles in "The Sun,"⁷⁵ but think that Bishop Huntington's paper on Emerson in "Independent"⁷⁶ is more satisfactory. *Did* you chance to encounter it?—

I am reminded, at this point, somehow, of Emerson's impulsive, and unlucky praise of "W. Whitman's" earlier edition of "Leaves of Grass".⁷⁷ Nothing could have been more unfortunate; for it gave Whitman just that *first* powerful push, or impetus, which was needed to bring him into notice. However the "good gray Poet," (as somebody⁷⁸ with infinite irony) calls him, has recently come to grief!—The action of the attorney Genl of Mass, in threatening Walt's Publishers with prosecution for issuing prurient and indecent verses,⁷⁹ is (*me judice*), the *action* of a *true man*, and a faithful Christian Ruler. He ought to be sustained by the intelligence and virtue of the entire commonwealth. Of course *W's* friends will make a lamentable outcry. We shall hear *ad nauseam* of narrow-minded Bigotry; base intolerance, stupid and arrogant *mis-judgment*; and probably *Walt* will even be held up as a *Martyr*, and compared to Christ, for the second time (!)⁸⁰

⁷⁵ The New York Sun: "Ralph Waldo Emerson," an editorial, April 28, 1882; and "Longfellow and Emerson," a letter by a "Trinitarian," May 14, 1882.

⁷⁶ "Ralph Waldo Emerson," *Independent*, XXXIV (May 18, 1882), 1-2.

⁷⁷ "I greet you at the beginning of a great career. . ."; this letter was published by Charles A. Dana in the New York *Tribune*, October 10, 1856. The words were lettered in gold on the second edition of *Leaves of Grass* (1856).

⁷⁸ William D. O'Connor (1832-1889), a defence of Whitman, *The Good Gray Poet* (New York, 1866).

⁷⁹ Oliver Stevens, Boston District Attorney, on behalf of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, wrote James R. Osgood, March 1, 1882, his intention to bring suit against *Leaves of Grass* under statutes governing obscene literature.

⁸⁰ Harlan, Secretary of the Interior, objected to the moral tone of *Leaves of Grass*. Whitman had been removed from his office in the Indian-Bureau.

I hope that your daughter & her children arrived safely from their long journey of 1200 miles?

Ah! were you not delighted to see them?—

And now, with *best* remembrance from my wife and son, and every *good wish* from *myself*; believe me as Ever

Your Cordial friend

PAUL H HAYNE.

P.S. Owing to my frequently obscure caligraphy, my correspondents now and then fail to read some sentences in my letters aright! For example, in my last to you, I spoke of Mrs Hayne as my "winsome Marrow", (quoting, you remember, from a line of Randolph's, the old Scotch Poet, which Wordsworth employs in "Yarrow Unvisited"). Now, very naturally you mistook this for "winsome *Marion*"; as my friend Mrs Pratt (Ellen Forman) of "W Awake",⁸¹ once did also. But my wife's name is *Mary*.

By the way, my wife (whose *name*, as I've said is *Mary*, whom I always call *Minna*), says I must tell you that in reading over Mr. Didier's sketch, which she sent you, the quotation from Edwin Whipple which he gives, should read thus.—

"There is nothing *forced* in the thought, nothing puerile in the feeling, nothing conceited in the expression."

One other *matter*! My friend, who gave that criticism of the "Plow verses" altho a noble scholar, and himself a Poet, has no love of anything Bucolic; so your testimony, (which is the general one) I heartily accept against him; and I intend moreover to *confound* and *overwhelm* him therewith.

How do "I manage to write so much in my state of health?" Well! as you conjecture, the quiet of the Country is favorable for work; and again, I have always before me the solemn injunction, "Work while it is called today; the night cometh, when no man can work!"

P H H

XI

Address P O Box 275 Augusta Geo.

"Copse Hill" Georgia

September 19th 1882

My dear Mrs Dorr,—

I was very much pleased to receive your kind letter of the 24 th ult. Of course, I did not, *could* not misunderstand your long silence;—for you had told me of the many visitors you expected; and I know thoroughly, (from

⁸¹The lines prefixed to Wordsworth's "Yarrow Unvisited" are by William Hamilton (1704-1754). Eliza Anna Forman (1837-1907), "Ella Forman," married Charles Stuart Pratt. They edited *Wide Awake* and other juvenile magazines.

the experience of my own "winsome marrow") how exacting a House-keeper's duties are in the Country.

Despite your labors, how truly delightful must have been your summer-time, enlivened especially by the presence of a daughter and grandchildren!

When you looked upon, and fondled those urchins,—*did* you feel the weight of years; or were they encircled by a halo, blent of past affections and future hopes?

No wonder, however, that the stress of innumerable family cares, has somewhat wearied your nerves, and lowered the normal tone of your system.

Take your well-earned rest during the fine, bracing days of autumn, and of that "Indian summer", which is so peculiarly calculated to bring both peace, and energy.

With your usual tender consideration you enquire after my health. It has been exceedingly precarious at different periods of the season; but I thank God, that just now, (despite the lingering effects of certain hemorrhages), I am a trifle better. *Well* I *never* can be; but with care, the worn frame may weather many a storm yet!

I am *deeply touched* by your comments upon "In Harbor";⁸² a poem composed under a heavy cloud; and with a perspective, the luminous relief of which stretched far, *very* far into the mysterious country of Spirits!

I suppose many persons have felt the sadness outlined in those verses; hence their wonderful popularity.

By the way, a lady-correspondent, (herself a Poet of subtle fancy, and considerable art culture) wrote me some days ago, that "*all* Poets must nourish a secret hope that their productions would be read and appreciated in a far futurity!" True perhaps (!!) and yet the *vast majority* of even genuine Singers must feel how vain is such an anticipation, or desire; and rank it with the Child's wish to grasp the moon, or possess Sirius for a plaything! After all, is it not enough if we can soothe the sorrowing, uplift the lowly, bring *regenerating* tears to the sinful, in our *own day* and *generation*? Let us take a "far futurity" to mean from 3 to 5 hundred years after one's death! At the end *even* of the *earlier* period, we may well ask, is there a *solitary Poet* of the 19th century, likely to be known in any *vital* fashion? No! No! most of us would wish to ignore this "far futurity", assured that it will return the compliment with a vengeance!

Tennyson, on this self-same question, and referring to his *own* performances, has said,

"I hear the roll of the ages!"⁸³

⁸² *Poems*, p. 337.

⁸³ This line occurs in "A Spiteful Letter."

You naturally think that "the *Lothropes* seem very slow in bringing out "my Poems."⁸⁴ But from a *partial specimen* of the style of the work which I have seen, with *some* of its Illustrations—, tis plain that they have devoted both capital and *conscientious* labor to its production. About 30 out of the 61 engravings, which adorn the book, I have had a chance to examine; and not a *few* of these are *admirable*; while some *three* or *four* strike me as simply *exquisite*.

We all enjoyed "Jennie June's"⁸⁵ graphic picture of yourself and home. She writes sympathetically, and with no little force.

Don't forget when you communicate with your *son* to send him my best regards and good wishes.

Willie and my wife unite in affectionate remembrances to *yourself*.

I am Always

Faithfully yours

PAUL H. HAYNE

P S I enclose a poem on the Death of Sen. Hill, which *please return to me*.

If you see the "*Belgravia*"⁸⁶ (London) magazine for *September*, and read my poem therein on "*England*," let the line about the English Poets read thus,

"But must I long in *body* as *heart* to bow &c"

XII

Address P O Box 272 Augusta Georgia.

"Copse Hill" Georgia

Dec. 11th 1882.

Dear Mrs Dorr,—

Your P. Card of Nov 5th ought to have been acknowledged long since; but in addition to that chronic ill health which seems always rather *worse* in *winter*; I have had a most disagreeable experience in the shape of blood poisoning!

A pet Squirrel scratched, (without *meaning* mischief), the back of *both* hands; and soon *three* sores of a very ugly appearance blossomed out upon the *right*, and *two* upon the left hand! For upwards of a fortnight they have greatly annoyed me. Indeed, at *one* period I feared serious consequences.

But all danger is over now, tho the healing process is slow and tedious. I regretted to learn from your Card that you had been "*quite ill*", and suffering seriously too, from *enfeebled eyes*.

⁸⁴ D. Lothrop and Company, *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne*, Boston, 1882.

⁸⁵ Mrs. Jane Cunningham Croly (1829-1901), author of books on cooking, sewing, and marriage. A club woman, she wrote *The History of the Women's Club Movement in America* (New York, 1898).

⁸⁶ XLVIII, (July-October, 1882) 356-347.

Ah! take care of *them*; yes! if it be necessary that you should remain with folded hands, and comparatively idle for the *next year*.

Even should the doctor be right (which doubtless he must be) in attributing your eye-trouble to general weakness &c great care is needed. My beloved and honored friend, Mrs. M. J. Preston of Virginia,⁸⁷—with whose genius you are familiar—, has for *years* suffered from defective vision; and now, after consultation with the best Oculists of Phila, writes me (thro an amanuensis) that she is, and probably always must be, *virtually blind*. She can neither read nor write! Is it not terrible? Much *worse* than in the case of one *born blind*, or like poor Philip Bourke Marston, the English Poet, attacked by blindness when a *mere child*!⁸⁸

By the way, did you chance to read in the last "W [ide] Awake"⁸⁹ a piece by Marston called "Garden Fairies"? It possesses a to my mind, a peculiar subtle charm!

Marston himself is a most *loveable* fellow, whom I seem to know thoroughly; since for *two* years our correspondence has been equally voluminous, intimate, and confidential. In addition to his great physical misfortune of blindness; all sorts of afflictions have overwhelmed him. He lost his sweetheart, who died suddenly; several friends whose attachment was beyond price died likewise; one of these being Madox Browne,⁹⁰ the promising young author and artist, whose Biography is at present in the course of preparation by *Inghram*, *Edgar Poe's* very successful biographer! (*Apropos* of "W [ide] Awake," when the Jan No. appears, I'd like you to read a long Ballad of mine, called "Geoffrey's Relic".)⁹¹

I observe that the newspapers are quite busy just now, in discussing the merits or demerits of Mr. Howells' "Modern Instance,"⁹² and Mrs Burnett's "Thro 1 Administration"⁹³

The former I've not read, and the *latter* I only began last evening. The opening chapters are certainly *very brilliant*, but somehow, I am convinced that Mrs B. will never write as noble a work again as "That Lass o' Lowries",⁹⁴ a work of *immortal power* and *pathos*, a *true classic* worthy to rank

⁸⁷ Margaret Junkin Preston (1820-1897), a Confederate poet. Although they corresponded many years, they never met. She wrote the appreciative "Biographical Sketch" prefixed to *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne*.

⁸⁸ Blinded by belladonna at the age of three.

⁸⁹ XVI, (Dec., 1882) 110-111.

⁹⁰ Oliver Madox Brown (1855-1874), novelist and painter, son of Ford Madox Brown. John H. Ingram (1849-1916) wrote *Oliver Madox Brown: A Biographical Sketch 1855-1874* (London, 1883).

⁹¹ XVI (May, 1883), 408.

⁹² Boston, 1881.

⁹³ Frances Hodgson Burnett (1849-1924). *Through One Administration* (Boston, 1882).

⁹⁴ New York, 1877.

even with the masterpieces of *Charlotte Brontë*; the female novelist, *par excellence* of the 19th century (at least in my judgment, which of course will be disputed by the admirers of Mrs Lewis &c)⁹⁵

Many thanks for a copy of your quaint, original and *very* attractive little Xmas vol.,⁹⁶ just recd. I never saw a cover design *exactly* like these before, and really I like them. The poetical contents too, are very interesting. Your *own* piece, "Santa Claus"⁹⁷ is *exceedingly sweet* and *spirited*; and I like your *son's* very much. In this, (his "Coming of Xmas") there is a line, "the wild white bees of winter" &c which is very striking as applied to the snowflakes.

As you have doubtless read my volume of "Complete Poems" ere this, I enclose "Errata", which I had struck off, for my private use, and which can be pasted on the fly leaf &c.

I did not have the supervision of "proof sheets," as the Lothrop's said, I was at *too great* a distance to make their transmission convenient—but they promised that skilled "Proof readers" would have the "Mss" in charge. In the *next edition*, (of which they are very hopeful), all errors will be corrected.

Please do not refer to these mistakes, which many would not even detect;—for the Lothrop's have spent an *enormous sum*, (comparatively) upon the work, and have indeed been "very plucky" in undertaking it,—as my friend Stedman says,—at their own *risk*. Of course, were the idea to get abroad that typographically the Book was incorrect,—there might be no second edition; and it is *in fact after all*, an *exceedingly handsome book*!

I saw a letter the other day to the agent in Georgia (from Lothrop) in which he *says* that the *Illustrations* of the work alone cost \$6000, (six Thousand Dollars!)

I regretted that the publishers left out the "Proem to Daphnes" which was a *particular favorite* of Longfellow's!⁹⁸

My wife and son unite with me in *warmest regards* to you and yours.

Do, my friend, write when you are able, and Believe me

Always most Cordially yours

PAUL H HAYNE

Excuse penmanship! I write with difficulty.

(To be continued)

⁹⁵ Possibly Mrs. Lewes, "George Eliot"; see Duffy, *Correspondence of Taylor and Hayne*, p. 62 and n. 7.

⁹⁶ *Santa Claus Souvenir*, a red silk fringe along top and front edge, and shaped like Santa Claus.

⁹⁷ Mrs. Dorr's *Poems*, pp. 415-416.

⁹⁸ See McKeithan, *A Collection of Hayne Letters*, pp. 143, 292.

THE JOURNAL OF ROBERT MILLS, 1828-1830

Edited by HENNIG COHEN

(Continued from July)

Saturday [April] 23rd [1829]. Wrote Mr. Lewis, Surveyor of Bath County, Virginia and referred him to Dr. Brockenbro¹⁶ relative to myself as a stranger to him, and gave directions for the Survey of the land.

Tuesday, [April 26?]. Wrote John Morris through postmaster Newbern, Virginia.

May 2 [1829]. Wrote Carey & Lea to know if my explanatory letter of January 24th was received. Engaged in interval of time in writing the following works for the use of schools—Geography of South Carolina, Epitome of Natural Philosophy, Ditto of Chymestry, Ditto of Rhetoric, Ditto of History of the United States, Ditto of Arithmetic, Ditto of the Bible. All in questions and answers.

May 4. Wrote Mr. Joseph [?] Donald in Charleston and requested him to procure for me a barrel of Sugar, two half barrels crackers, and $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel of Rice. Also 12 Waldos and 12 Cun. [*sic*] Geography. Wrote William Fisher [?] and enclosed an order on Mr. Bennett for 1 copy of Statistics.

April 18. Wrote Mr. A. Black in Charleston by Mr. Henderson and sent him a note containing 13 copies of Frontispiece directed to H. S. Tanner,¹⁶ Philadelphia, to be forwarded to him.

May 16. Wrote Mr. Oliver¹⁷ on the subject of professional employment.

May 11. Wrote Mr. Tanner requesting him to bind up a copy of Atlas, also Statistics handsomely and labelled A. J. P. U. S.¹⁸

¹⁶ John Brockenborough of Richmond, an old friend, was chairman of the committee in charge of building the Monumental Church in Richmond which Mills designed. Mills also designed Dr. Brockenborough's home on Clay street, now a Confederate Museum. See, Robert Evans, ed., "The Daily Journal of Robert Mills," *Maryland Historical Quarterly* (1935), XXX, 260.

¹⁷ Henry Schenck Tanner (1786-1858), cartographer, and publisher of Mills' *Atlas*. See, *DAB*, XVIII, 296-97.

¹⁸ Probably Robert Oliver (c. 1757-1734), Baltimore merchant and capitalist. He was a member of the first Board of Directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road.

¹⁹ The initials probably stand for "Andrew Jackson, President of the United States." An entry dated August 15 mentions the presentation of copies of the *Atlas* and *Statistic* to President Jackson.

Agreed with him about [illegible word] plan of Charleston without the views. Mentioned about getting the plates large enough to admit of these views being added at another time. Mentioned Diagram of the world, United States &c.

May 22. Wrote Carey & Lea and Carey in answer to their letter. Inquired cost of press for a weekly paper &c. Wrote Dr. Brockenbro relative to Virginia land and reference of Mr. Lewis to him of me. Wrote Sister E. D. Mills respecting Robert her son and agreed to take him into our family, his mother to furnish him clothes and books.¹⁹ Wrote Miller & Poole and Mrs. Hoffman [?], Columbia, by Mr. Quilter [?]; also Mr. Daniel.

June 1 [1829]. Drew up subscription papers to a weekly paper proposed to be published in this village, to be entitled the Abbeville Journal and Peoples Friend, price 2\$ per annum in advance. Gave a number of copies to Col. Noble²⁰ for distribution. Placed one in each of the Bookstores, and gave one to Mr. Childs, Mr. Prather. Wrote Mr. Sims, Columbia, for information respecting the cost of type &c.

May 30. Wrote Mr. Causici respecting the progress of the Statue of Washington and the time it would be ready to raise to its place.

Received a letter from Mr. [illegible] Post Master, Newbern, Virginia, about Mr. John Morris of his recovery and departure home. Subscription papers in the hands of Mr. Prather, Mr. Hill, General Hodges, Mr. Childs, Mr. Taggent, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Bryan, Mr. Bowie, Col. Noble, Dr. Taggent. (Col. Noble took a number of copies to distribute.)

August 12 [1829]. Another return of the day commemorative of that which gave me birth calls for gratitude to my heavenly father. I have experienced many mercies, and desire to bow down with humility and submission to his will in what he has been pleased to withhold from me. My sould humbly trusts in my God through the worthy name of my Redeemer, and would look for his salvation. May the coming year find me usefully employed, and may the remaining years of my life if spared to me then be devoted to the service of my God. Lord take me and mine under thy special care and protection and bless me with every needful blessing.

August 15. Wrote the President of the United States, General Jackson, and requested his acceptance of the Atlas of the State of South Carolina and

¹⁹ Dr. Robert James Mills, sometimes called James Robert, was adopted by Robert Mills. See, Gallagher, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

²⁰ Patrick Noble (1787-1840) of Abbeville, governor of S. C., 1838 to 1840. See, *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York, 1904), XII, 168.

Statistics. Mentioned my application for situation in the Engineer corps of the United States and requested him to mention my name to the Secretary of War. Wrote the Secretary of War, General Eaton,²¹ and enclosed it to my friend Mr. Woodside²² requesting him to put it into the hands of the private secretary, Dr. Randolph,²³ to deliver.

August 20. Wrote Mr. Tanner Atlases &c to [initials illegible] Pond Jr.

August 29. Closed a sale of Piano with William Lomax Esq. 200\$ in trade for a negro woman Anna, and 50\$ in money. (15\$ cash 35\$ in a note payable on or before the first January next. [])

September 1 [1829]. Mrs. Mills went on a visit to Columbia with M. V. & T. [?] Engaged in arranging the heads of an Architectural work. Also made a model of hoisting machine to raise the Washington Monument Statue.

September 5. Appointed chairman of the committee to draft a constitution for the Temperance Society of Abbeville. Engaged in preparing the same to lay before the Committee. Met them and agreed upon a Constitution.

September 9. The Temperance Society met this day. Dr. B [illegible] delivered a discourse before the Society on the subject after which the Society went into the examination of the Constitution and adopted the same and went into the election of officers, namely: Robert Mills, *President*; J. A. Calhoun, *Vice-President*; Dr. Branch, *Secretary & Treasurer*. Mayor Allston, Dr. P. H. Davis, Moore, Branch, *Executive Committee*.

September 12. Wrote Mrs. Mills and enclosed 13\$ (returned). Wrote Mr. D. Winchester, Mr. Causici and Henry Lusher [?], Baltimore.

September 26. Wrote Angus Patterson Esq., Barnwell, relating to mortgages to [name illegible] of lands. Wrote also Mr. Causici, of the terms I should lease this for Baltimore. Gave Mr. Mc[illegible] roll of drawings of the surveys of the Laurens estate &c for Mr. Patison agent of J. Henderson Esq.

²¹ John Henry Eaton (1790-1856), Secretary of War from March 9, 1829 to June 18, 1831. See *DAB*, V, 609-10.

²² James D. Woodside whom Mills knew during his early residence at Georgetown, D. C. See, *The Diary of Robert Mills: July 2-12, 1803*, MS collection, Tulane University. In "Autobiography" in appendix of Mrs. Gallagher's book, Mills described him as "an experienced nautical man skilled likewise in mechanical devices".

²³ Probably Philip G. Randolph, chief clerk to Secretary of War during first term of Andrew Jackson. See, *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, p. 14.

Orders

On Mr. Leslie for	\$26.
Mr. Patison	20.
Mr. Bennett	20.
Mr. Lomax's note	35.
Mr. Yarboro[ugh]	32.
Col. Douglas (for Mr. Wilson)	11.

September 27. Wrote Mr. Wardlaw about business with Mr. McCord. Drew an order in favor of L. Wardlaw on Mr. B[illegible] for \$74.50 to be collected for Mr. McCord. Mr. McCord['s] bill for Brown \$69. Mr. Branch to allow for the bed returned him 18\$. The account against him, \$36. His bill against us about 36. Wrote a note to Mr. Lomax. Prepared for a journey to Baltimore.

Received from Col. Bowie	\$52.00
Cash in hand	10.25
	<hr/>
	\$62.25

Mr. Talman requests me to say to the Postmaster that the new contractor did not buy his stage and horses, and if he has not a claim for compensation or for [one word illegible].

Tuesday September 29th. Took leave of my dearest family and took the upper line of stages for the North at 8 o'clock. The rout[e] through Laurens Court House, Union Court House, York Court House, Charlotte, Salem, Halifax, Cantersville and on to Fredericksburg, Virginia, from thence by steamboat to Washington &c.

EXPENSES

	Miles	\$ cts.
From Abbeville Court House to Kellers [?]	6	.50
Tuesday—to Bowery [?]	22	
(Baggage consists of a small black Trunk, 2 a carpet bag of clothes, 3 an instrument box, 4 a set of legs to instruments and 2 cloaks. In all 6 pieces.)		
1 Expenses at Bowery [?] which includes a fare to Pinckneyville. Sold him a map of Laurens 1 \$		6.75
To Laurens 11, Union 32,	43	
2 Expenses at Union and Laurens		.87½
3 To Pinckneyville .15 to York .20	35	
Expenses Pinckneyville and York		.75
Stage from Pinckneyville to Hills [boro] 30	10	2.40

	Miles	\$ cts.
4 Ditto from Hills [boro] to Salsbury	40	5.00
Expenses this day		.75
5 Ditto from Salsbury to Greensboro	70	3.00
Expenses today		.87½
6 Expenses today		.35
From Greensboro to Rawleigh	90	5.00
7 Expense to ditto		1.00
8 Stage from Rawleigh to Petersburg	145	
Amount brought over	461	37.75 [new page]
Expenses to Petersburg		1.37½
9 Stage from Petersburg to Richmond	20	1.50
10 Ditto from Richmond to Fredericksburg	70	5.00
Expenses on the road		.50
Stage and Steamboat F [are] to Washington	80	
Expenses		.75
Stage from Washington to Baltimore	36	3.00
Whole distance and expense	667	53.62½

September 30. Mr. Gage at Union returned me three Atlases which were in Mr. McKibbin's hand. 1 not accounted for.

Received of Mr. Garling for 2 maps	\$2.00
Ditto Mr. Bowen	1.00
Ditto Mr. Watson	1.00

Rout[e] from Abbeville to Laurens, Union, York, Charlotte, Concord, Salsbury, Lancaster, Salem, Greensboro. Then down to Rawleigh through [space for one name] Hillsboro, Chapel Hill. Paid my respects to Dr. Caldwell,²⁴ President of the College at Chapel Hill. Visited General Daniel, the State House Rawleigh, and examined the statue of Washington by Canova.²⁵ A beautiful piece of sculpture, a chef d'oeuvre. [At] Union Court House wrote Mrs. Mills²⁶ and enclosed 1\$ and sent by Stage 3 Atlases in a bag, got from the executor of Mr. McKibbin['s] estate. Tuesday at Rawleigh wrote a letter to Mrs. Mills by Mail. Wednesday night at 12 o'clock at Richmond 173 miles. At Petersburg called on Patrick Durkin, Esq., Mayor of the city, relative to the Railroad to Roanoke, and left my address—Baltimore. Purchase blocks & Falls such as Capt. Woodside [two words illegible] of. Thursday at Fredericksburg, and Friday morning at 5 at

²⁴ Joseph Caldwell (1773-1835), mathematician. See, *DAB*, III, 409-10.

²⁵ Antonio Canova (1757-1822), Italian sculptor. The statue was considered one of the most important works of art in America. It was destroyed by fire when the State House burned in 1831.

²⁶ Eliza Barnwell Smith (1784-1863) married Mills in 1809. She was the daughter of Gen. John Smith of Hackwood Park, Va., and Anna Bull of Pennsylvania.

Washington. Called on the President, the Secretaries of Navy and War, introduced to the Postmaster General, General Gratiot²⁷ Chief Engineer, McComb²⁸ &c. Visited my old friends the Woodside family and Mr. Nourse.²⁹ Saturday proceeded on to Baltimore went up to the monument. Saw the colossal statue of Washington by Causici, 16½ feet high and weighing 16½ tons. Saw Mr. Causici. Stopped at Baltimore hotel. Expenses 2 days, [\$]3. Supper and lodgings extra .75 and 4[illegible word] washed .25. Tuesday morning took stage to Washington. Called on the Secretary of the navy to procure an order on the commandant of the Navy Yard Commodore Hull³⁰ for hoisting tackle to raise the Statue of Washington. Selected the same with Captain Woodside on Wednesday. Engaged with Captain Woodside to hoist the Statue and to pay his expenses and give him two hundred dollars when the work is done. Thursday at Washington. Visited Canal, Georgetown. Friday left Washington for Baltimore. To supper at B——'s. Saturday, Sunday and Monday at B[illegible]. Tuesday breakfast.

Monday, October 19th, [1829] Commenced operations at the Washington Monument to raise the Statue. Engaged in collecting materials during the week. Raised the first pair of shears. Made drawings of Mr. Dorsey's terrace wall &c. Received for this same 10 \$. Wrote Mr. [initial illegible] Nourse relating to Captain Woodside's detention at Baltimore.

Tuesday, October 20th. Put up at Mrs. Onion's. On the day before Capt. Woodside put up there. Board 2½ \$ per week.

October 24th. Received from Mr. Winchester toward raising the monument Statue 90 \$. Paid Captain Woodside. The same to pay the men, viz.,

Bennett and others in full	\$43.50
Mr. Kinnard	40.00
Cash for his use	6.50
	<hr/>
	\$90.00

[Labelled sketch of equipment to be used in hoisting the statue, is reproduced facing p. 101 in Gallagher, *op. cit.*]

²⁷ Charles Gratiot (1786-1855), Chief of the Army Engineering Corps, 1823-1838. See, *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1904), XII, 323.

²⁸ Alexander McComb (1782-1841), Chief of the Army Engineering Corps, 1821-1828. See, *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, (New York, 1895), II, 241.

²⁹ Joseph Nourse (1754-1841), Revolutionary Army officer and government official whom Mills had known from his Georgetown days. See, Francis Drake, *Dictionary of American Biography including Men of the Time* (Boston, 1872), p. 665.

³⁰ Isaac Hull (1773-1843), naval officer. Commandant of the Washington Navy Yard, 1829-35. See, *DAB*, IX, 360-62.

APPARATUS FOR HOISTING THE STATUE.

- 1 the [illegible word] shears which hoists the cat head.
- 2 which hoists the derrick
- 3 which hoists the great shear
- 4 which hoists the statue
- 5 the lines
- 6, 7, 8, 9 represent the guy ropes for steadying the shears &c.
- 10 shows the fall to hoist by.

PLAN AND SECTION OF A CISTERN

[A labelled plan for a cistern]

[A labelled sectional sketch for a cistern]

Estimates

40 feet x 19 x 1.2 walls—13 [thousand] Brick at $8\frac{1}{2}$	\$110.00
Arching & passing [?] 3500 at $8\frac{1}{2}$	29.75
Extra mortar [illegible word].....	5.00
[illegible word].....	10.00
45 yards Roman Cement [at] .50.....	22.50
50 yards digging at .25.....	12.50
Centering.....	10.00

\$199.75*(To be continued)*

DR. IRVING'S REMINISCENCES OF THE CHARLESTON STAGE

Edited by EMMETT ROBINSON

(Continued from July)

No. VII²⁹

.....

CHARLEY YOUNG [1817-35]

What his antecedents had been before he came to Charleston, he vouchsafed frequently to explain, but nobody could gather from the story of his early life, which he often pretended to run over from his boyish days for the edification of his listeners and for the exaltation of his own importance, what exactly those antecedents had been—enough to inform my readers that it was in the autumn of 1817, that Young and his beautiful wife came to Charleston, having joined Gilfert's Company, making their first appearance here in the characters of Osmond and Angela in the *Castle Spectre*; and two evenings after, as Iago and Desdemona, in the play of *Othello*. The theatre was open only four nights a week in those days.

Young and his wife had arrived in this country in 1816, from England, and had played in Philadelphia and other cities North. Mrs. Young at that time was a very pretty woman indeed. The beams of her beauty were such, that she, like a bright particular star, did scintillate for several seasons in our theatrical horizon, and was very attractive—she drew many eyes to her. Gilfert admired her vastly—his attentions at last becoming too marked, Young challenged him, and they exchanged shots on the Charleston Race Ground, Gilfert wounding Young severely in the hip.

Young was a very good shot with a pistol indeed, and cool withal and often told me and others, that he could have fired as quickly as Gilfert did, with as sure an aim, and hit him just where he pleased, had he been disposed to hurry over so interesting and serious an affair, (as if it were an event of everyday occurrence,) in the rapid manner Gilfert did. He did not like, he said, in his characteristic, pompous manner, to be *undignified on any occasion!*

Not long after the above duel Mrs. Young moved to Philadelphia, and there died at an early age!

Young was a strong hilarious fellow, with a voice and figure, which caused him always to be cast for "the villains" in the pieces represented by companies he happened to be a member of.

He had when a young man "the brawn of a Hercules and the digestion

²⁹ *Charleston Daily Courier*, April 12, 1870.

of an ostrich." SPIRITS, which he never was so rude, as to command that they should "avaunt and quit his sight" without making their acquaintance, and testing their quality, soon gave him an opportunity of knowing every tap and "*late finish*" in our city!

How I first made the acquaintance of Young is little to my present purpose. Enough to say, in those days one of my ruling passions was a fondness for theatricals. I wrote a great deal as *a friend of the drama*. My criticisms were approved, and popular; in consequence I had the *entree* of the Green Room, went behind the scenes and saw mimetic life without its disguises. This made me acquainted with every professional person that has during the greater part of the present century fretted his hour upon the stage—Charles Young, of course, among the number!

In his younger days, Young was fond of field sports, and was a tolerably good shot. Towards the latter part of his life, when he became a decayed gentleman, he thought he would indulge in a day's recreation, but having neither the means nor "the indispensables" of a sportsman, such as gun, dog, powder and shot, belonging to himself, he had to depend upon others to supply them. He, therefore, procured a gun from one friend, (I believe Col. Lance lent him his for the occasion,) he borrowed a dog from another acquaintance, and a pony from another. He invited an associate to accompany him, a popular person, well known in those days in our community as Richard Wish, commonly called Dick Wish by "the lads of the village."

On the morning fixed for the excursion, at an early hour, as it will be recollected, the novelist "James" always says in the opening of his popular stories, *might have been seen two men on horseback*, slowly moving up King-street. I have said both were mounted, as they had to travel some distance before they were to look for their game. "Young" was on a strong-built, well-turned, well put together marsh tackey, a dog running by his side, that, to judge from his appearance and keep, had seen better days. He, (Young,) was accoutred exactly as if he was dressed for such a character on the boards of a theatre, as Justice Woodcock, or the old jolly Squire in that excellent farce of "A Rowland for an Oliver," whose life was passed in outdoor exercises; he had on, (as they looked to me to be,) a suit of his old stage clothes, that he had saved from the wreck of his former better fortunes; namely, a pair of drab knee breeches, a pair of long gaiters of the same color and material as the breeches, buttoned down at the side; and then, to complete his outfit, he had on a shooting coat of English manufacture, such as game keepers wore in the old country, with more pockets than I could count, before, behind, and on both sides of him. Over one of his shoulders hung a game bag, whilst, if my memory serves me correctly, I think there was peeping out an aperture in it, (for it was very old and

tern,) something like a *flask*, (and a very large one,) not of *powder*, but of something else, apparently liquid, *fire water*, perhaps, as the aborigines call it.

If it was *Gunpowder*, all I can say is, it was manifestly too damp to "go off" that day, however readily it might "go down!"

On being hailed and asked where he was going at that early hour, he replied: "He was going to give a lesson in partridge shooting to this cockney sportsman, alongside of him," pointing to his companion, Mr. Wish.

"Do you expect to find much game?" I asked.

Before Young could reply, Wish observed:

"Oh! yes. Young says he knows exactly where there are several large coveys, and can easily find them."

I never shall forget Young's countenance as he turned to me, and archly said:

"This gentleman's *Wish* is father to the thought. He cannot, but you will, I am sure, appreciate the apposite quotation from the writings of that immortal bard, who has been justly proclaimed the poet of all times, and all ages, and all places."

The two friends then rode on. I saw nothing more of them until evening, when happening to be going home along King-street, I saw Young surrounded by half a dozen acquaintances, standing at the door of Mr. Muggidge, who then kept a restaurant, near the corner of Market-street—a little North of Market-street, in King-street, not far from the then place of business of Mr. Porter, and on the same side of the street.

Young was evidently in earnest conversation, recounting his day's sport. Among other things he said, "He had bagged ten brace of partridges—woodcocks he never counted, they were so easily knocked over."

By this time some benevolent person in the crowd invited Young into Muggidge's to take a drink. As he was filling up his glass he again repeated the exploits of the morning to his assembled hearers, gathering around him every moment more and more numerous, when, to the surprise of every one present, Wish, who had been eating a beefsteak in one corner of the room, advanced and insisted that Young was humbugging them, and that he had not *killed a Bird!*—in fact, that they had got out of town only as far as the Four Mile House, when Young having drunk all the liquor he had carried with him, and having neither money nor credit to get any more on the road, said "*he had exhausted all his ammunition*; that he positively had not another *shot* in the locker, (using cant phrases of that kind), and that they had better return to town for a fresh supply."

Young listened to Wish in the utmost good humor. At last with his happiest combination of the "*suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*," put this question, grandiloquently, to him,

"Do you in the face of this goodly company, Sir, deny the statement I have deliberately made?"

"Why certainly I do," said Wish, bluntly, "You did not kill a single bird!"

Young, then, drew himself up in the most dignified attitude he could assume, and pointing to a large knife upon the counter, used for cutting cheese for relishes, he said,

"Mr. RICHARD Wish"—laying strong emphasis upon the *Richard*—"Mr. RICHARD Wish—there is my dagger, and here my naked breast"—(quoting, of course, the words of Cassius to his brother Brutus—at the same time suiting the action to the word, and opening his waistcoat) "I am quixotic, sir, on the point of honor, morbidly sensitive at the very shadow of an unfavorable imputation cast upon me. Plunge that dagger into my heart, Mr. Wish, but *do not doubt my veracity!*"

No. VIII³⁰

"CHARLEY YOUNG," . . . a character so familiar to the habitudes of our theatre in other days, so well known, not only on our boards, but on the pave of Charleston, as to be spoken of frequently even now by many who recollect some of his peculiarities, I am tempted to describe another scene, . . . in which he was the principal actor.

He invited a companion into Muggridge's to take a drink with him—he approached the bar, behind which Muggridge was standing, who not appearing to notice the advent, of the two customers, Young knocked on the counter, and in a very patronizing tone said, "Mr. Muggridge, the decanter of brandy, and tumblers for two!"

Muggridge was either very deaf or indifferent to the extension of his business at that moment, for he seemed very busily occupied at the very end of the bar, as far remote as he could get, from where Young and his companion stood.

Young, a second time knocked on the counter, and ordered "the brandy," but Muggridge was as deaf as before. A third time did Young knock, and repeat the order without its being obeyed. Charley probably suspected the cause of the non-acquiescence of Mr. Muggridge in his request, for he put his hand in his waistcoat pocket, and drew out a roll of paper, which looked very much like a roll of bank bills, newly issued from one of our monied institutions. At the sight of these Muggridge relented, and the brandy bottle was forthwith shoved towards Young; at the same instant Muggridge taking one of the papers out of Young's hand, (presuming it was a dollar bill,) and holding it to the light, asked, with some surprise and disappointment, "What is this?"

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Apr. 13, 1870.

"What is that, sir, do you ask?" said Young. "It is a pattern for ladies' lace work—newer and cleaner, as you see, than a vulgar, dirty shin-plaster. *Silver and gold have I none, but what I have that I give unto you freely.*"

"Your early education, Mr. Muggridge, has been sadly neglected, otherwise I would say to you, (as Cicero once characterized a distinguished man of his times, like myself,) that I am "*Vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei,*" which being literally translated means "I am a man possessed of little wealth, but of incorruptible integrity!"

"It has been said, Mr. Muggridge, that "*Virtus est sola nobilitas.*" I lay it down, also, as incontrovertible, that Honor, which is only another name for Virtue, is the only true nobility. Mr. Muggridge, I am a nobleman—noble elements are within me—I am the soul of Honor—chalk not up your claims, then, against me, particularly, when *departed spirits* are concerned. Though account *for spirits* is against me, Mr. Muggridge; yet it is registered, believe me, where every day I turn the leaf to read it, in my heart of hearts!!"

Young was a source of endless amusement to his many acquaintances—he was a *character* indeed, always entertaining. It was not so much *what* he said, as *the manner* in which he said it. . . . At one time, Young would speak in a tone of easy, but not undignified familiarity with his acquaintances, as if he was conscious he was fully their equal in position and in public appreciation; at another time, obsequious, humble, deferential;—then again, with lordly pride stiffening up, not only as if he was their superior in years, but also in birth, parentage, and education, yet the prevailing character of his mood and talk was social and quaint. Evidently, he was by original temperament, a good natured droll creature, with neither high nor low animal spirits, for he did not seem to care enough for the world to be affected much, either by its smiles or its frowns! A peculiar simplicity of character for the most part appeared to mark him; as if like an infant he knew not the world, and was quite willing to take it *upon trust!*

I have frequently heard him say because *he trusted* the world the world should *trust him*, and then whenever he would be talking in this strain, he would never omit to add, particularly if there was a crowd about him: "Gentlemen, you must all be sensible as I am that I, Charles Young, Esq., who have lent myself, *to my cost*, as much as I have done to the world, in furtherance of all that is grand in man and progressive in my generation; you must be sensible, I say, that society is heavily in my debt, and can never pay me back one-half of what it owes me. But I will not dogmatize. No, Charles Young will not dogmatize. I will only remark with young Hamlet: 'To what base uses we may return, Horatio.'" Then in the same breath he would say: "Will any gentleman present invite me to take a

drink? Don't all speak at once, I beg you. One at a time, gentlemen, if you please, your favors will last the longer."

As I took it for granted that joking was the order of the day or night, wherever Young was, I ventured once to say to him, "I am surprised, Young, you will drink all sorts of liquor in all sorts of places. You had better look out; one of these days, some of the vile stuff you swallow will be the death of you!"

This was enough to give Young a chance to be heard *with effect*; he immediately threw himself into one of his favorite stage postures, and repeated these lines from the play of Julius Caesar:

"Cowards die many times before their death,
The valiant never taste of Death but once!"

After an eventful life, Young ended his days in Charleston from an attack of yellow fever, twenty years since. . . . He was borne to the earth, like Will Watch,

"By the friends that he died with." . . .

VANDENHOFF [1837]

The celebrated tragedian, [John M.] Vandenhoff, played an engagement at our old theatre with signal success. He was a very fine actor; his *role* of characters was a very dignified one. . . .

Vandenhoff possessed in an eminent degree many of the requisites of "the actor." His figure, not developed in too great muscularity, was most obedient to his choice of attitude and gesture, in which *he was particularly happy*. His countenance, though not of magical power, yet united features of a cast, elevated and interesting, and were all sufficient, by the aid of his intellectual resources and experience, to effect well the work in hand.

Discrimination of character was a marked feature in his acting, each part he assumed, being not only a *species*, but the *individual* of that species. Hamlet, Cato, Othello, Virginius, in his hands, were all distinct embodyings of conception, that from the effect produced in some passages by this, his peculiar forte, he could not fail to gratify, and give complete satisfaction to the judgment of those competent to form a correct opinion of his histrionic powers.

CLARA FISHER [1828-31]

Many well remember the attraction of this gifted young lady, how much her talent was appreciated. She drew larger audiences and fulfilled a more profitable engagement for self and manager in Charleston than any other star since the engagements of Incedon and Philips. Nor would the receipts of *her nights* have been exceeded on those occasions, had not

the prices of admission to our theatre been reduced since the days of those distinguished vocalists.

To those of my younger readers who know Clara Fisher only by name, and would like to be informed what constituted her remarkable attraction and dramatic fame, I will briefly say it was her varied and ingenious delineation of characters, her extraordinary intelligence for one so young, her happy adaptation of manner to the diversified characters she assumed, her judicious contrivance of situations, and a perpetual playfulness which never tired, but seemed like the flowing stream, to become more fresh and sparkling, from its own undulation. Hers was emphatically the true triumph of genius, for the results of experience seemed in her to have been anticipated by a sort of inspiration, and her understanding to have been matured by its own energies, without the co-operation of labor.

HERR CLINE [Andre, 1829]

The loud praises which has been poured out upon the public ear in reference to the graceful performances of this gentleman on the elastic cord, induced the manager to offer him an engagement of a few nights in Charleston. He was much admired, and well he may have been. The idea of *rope dancing*, as vulgarly comprehended, does not apply to his incomparable exhibitions. All similar efforts we have seen, compared with his, are coarse and inexpressive, like the daubings on a sign-post, when viewed in the same light with the brilliant colorings of a Titian. It is not too much to say, that Mr. Cline wielding the pencil of a master spirit, imparted an entirely new feature and character to such representations. It appeared with him to be the result of intellect and mind, not the physical agility of a mechanical buffoon! It seemed to be with him the application of Poetry and Study to a *new* and an untried Scene!—the embodying with the skill of an artist the classical and tasteful images of a bright and creative fancy!

Herr Cline still lives—one of the very few of the olden time I am alluding to in these sketches. He lives in New York, where I met him, from time to time, during the last four years, in wonderful preservation, for one of his years.

Who that ever went to the Theatre in Gilfert's time but remembers that sterling comedian Vincent DeCamp. [1823–32] He made his first appearance in Charleston as "Gossamer," in the play of "Laugh When You Can, be Merry Whilst You May." He made a great hit, and continued, not only his first season, but many seasons following, a very popular actor. He was a brother of Mrs. Frederick Browne, who will be remembered by many as having been long a member of Gilfert's company, and a most excellent actress, indeed, she was. They were brother and sister to Mrs. Charles Kemble, who was a DeCamp. . . . I have often seen her act as

Miss DeCamp, before Kemble married her. Fanny Kemble, now Mrs. Butler, is her daughter;...

DeCamp, during the time he was in Charleston, brought out several attractive pieces that were having a "good run" in England and this country, "The Flying Indians," and "Tom and Jerry," among the number. The latter, under his direction, was produced here in a manner not surpassed in London, under every advantage of the most careful preparation, and drew many large audiences. The piece was represented by all the talent of the company best suited to it, DeCamp playing Tom; Robertson, Jerry; Frederick Browne, Bob Logic; dressing the character like Gilfert, and imitating him throughout in the cleverest style, to the delight of the audience. Hyatt was Jimmy Green; Spiller, Little Jimmy in the Chair; Faulkner, as Irish "Charley," who, on being upbraided by the Magistrate of the Station House, for being at the time of a row and fight in the street at midnight, "*off his beat*," and consequently did not make any arrests of the "Tom and Jerry" party, excused himself by saying he was "*beat off his beat!*"

Mrs. Frederick Browne, and Miss Tilden, and Mrs. Gray, also, were in the original cast of the piece in Charleston. When DeCamp quitted our city, he went to Texas, and there died.

(To be continued)

MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE CITY GAZETTE
OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

Contributed by ELIZABETH HEYWARD JERVEY

(Continued from July)

Married, on Tuesday Evening, the 25th inst. by Rev. Mr. Bachman, Mr. John Clancey, to Miss Mary Ann Ridgewood, all of this city. (Friday, March 28, 1823)

The Friends and Acquaintances of the late Mr. James Hall, (Stone Cutter) and the Members of the Mechanic Society, are requested to attend his Funeral, at 4 o'clock, This Afternoon, from the house of Mrs. Catherine Munro, No. 32 Society-street, without further invitation. (Friday, March 28, 1823)

Married, on Wednesday the 26th instant, Mr. James Maitland, to Miss Eliza Turnbull, both of this city. (Monday, March 31, 1823)

Died, on the morning of the 19th inst. Miss Nancy Vernon, daughter of James Vernon, Esq. of Spartanburg District, aged 21 years. . . (Monday, March 31, 1823)

The friends and Acquaintances of Capt. A. S. Gabeau, Anthony Gabeau and William Evans, are invited to attend the Funeral of the former, from the residence of his father, This Afternoon at 4 o'clock. (Monday, March 31, 1823)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. John Slowick are respectfully invited to attend her Funeral This Afternoon at 4 o'clock from her late residence, No. 19 King-street without further invitation. (Monday, March 31, 1823)

It becomes our lot to record in this paper the death of Col. Steele White. We have only time to state to our readers that his existance was this day closed about half past one o'clock, in consequence of a fall from his horse, that took fright and dashed him against a tree, Sav. Repub. 29th ult. (Tuesday, April 1, 1823)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Gabriel Wayne, are invited to attend the Funeral of the latter, from her late residence at Mrs.

Magill's No. 23 Friend-street, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock, without further invitation. (Tuesday, April 1, 1823)

Married on Monday evening, 31st ult. by the Rev. John Bachman Mr. Isaac M. Parker to Miss Ann Happoldt, both of this city. (Wednesday, April 2, 1823)

Departed this life on Daniel's Island, on the 3d of March, Mr. Richard Fordham, sen. in the 79th year of his age. During the revolution he served in the Navy, and fought for the independence of his country. (Friday, April 4, 1823)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Peter A. Poincignon, H. D. Beurhaus, and C. Samory; and also the members of the Lodge la Candeur, No. 36, are requested to attend the Funeral of the former, from his residence No. 19 Queen-street, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock, without further invitation. (Friday, April 4, 1823)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. Louis Dubois, are requested to attend the Funeral of his Brother Augustus, This Afternoon at 4 o'clock from the residence of the former No. — Queen-st. (Saturday, April 5, 1823)

Married, on Sunday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Howard, Mr. Charles Hurst, to Mrs. A. C. James, both of this city. (Tuesday, April 8, 1823)

Died, on Monday afternoon aged about 27, Mr. Jared S. Hazard, of New London, Connecticut, Mate of the schooner Angenora, Capt Pike of New York. He was attacked on his passage the 29th ult. by convulsion fits, which increased upon him until Monday when he expired. . . . (Wednesday, April 9, 1823)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. Joseph Parsons, and Mrs. Esther Parsons, are requested to attend the funeral of the former from his late residence at Hampstead near Mr. Nell's Rope-Walk, This Afternoon at 3 o'clock. (Wednesday, April 9, 1823)

Died, in Allen Township, Pa. Gen. Robert Brown, in the 79th year of his age, a revolutionary patriot, and many years member of Congress (Thursday, April 10, 1823)

Died in New York, Capt. James M'Keon, of the Custom house, and late of the U. S. Army: a native of Ireland, aged 52. (Thursday, April 10, 1823)

Died, at Newport, R. I. Mr. William Prior, aged 84, an officer in the French war of 1756, and at the capture of Havana by the British and Americans. (Thursday, April 10, 1823)

Died, last week at Savannah, Doctor Lemuel Kollock, an eminent physycian and respectable citizen. The medical society of Georgia exhibited the usual testimonies of respect to his character. (Friday, April 11, 1823)

Died, on the 1st inst. at his residence in Marion district, Britton's Neck, Mr. John Jordon, in the 71st year of his age. This respectable old man got up in the morning well, and died at 9 o'clock at night of the same day. (Friday, April 11, 1823)

The friends and acquaintances of Mrs. Mary Macklish, of her daughters and Grandson W. C. Hichborn, are invited to attend the funeral of the former (without further invitation) This Afternoon at 4 o'clock from her late residence No. 30 Tradd-street. (Tuesday, April 15, 1823)

Died, at Philadelphia, in the 96th year of his age Captain Frederick Bird, a revolutionary officer. (Wednesday, April 16, 1823)

Married, in England, by special licence, Dr. Barry E. O'Meara, to Lady Leigh, at her ladyship's mansion. (Friday, April 18, 1823)

Married, in New York, Thomas A. Emmett, Esq. to Miss Anna R. Tom, daughter of the late Mr. John Tom. (Friday, April 18, 1823)

Died, in this city on Monday, the 7th inst. after a long illness, Mr. Joseph Parsons, aged 40 years, formerly of Wiscasset, but for the last 20 years a resident of this state. (Friday, April 18, 1823)

Died in Baltimore County, in the 85th year of his age, much regreted Mr. Simon Perine, a Major in the revolutionary war. (Friday, April 18, 1823)

The Friends and Acquaintances of William Price, jun., Mrs. Ann Price and Saml. H. Lothrop, are requested to attend the Funeral of Clement B.

Price, from the residence of his Father, No. 101, Tradd-street, at 4 o'clock This Afternoon. (Saturday, April 19, 1823)

Died, in Newark (N. J.) Mr. John Tuttle, one of the editors of the Centinel of Freedom aged 32. (Wednesday, April 23, 1823)

Died at Genesee River, (N. Y.) Capt. David D. Denman, late of the U. S. Army, aged 35. At Brooklyn, (N. Y.) Mr. Tunis Tiebout, aged 101 years. At Annapolis, (Md.) Mr. Thomas Brewer, a soldier of the Revolution, and who distinguished himself in the battle of Long-Island, White Plains, Monmouth, Brandywine, Germantown, Princeton, Stoney Point and Saratoga. (Wednesday, April 23, 1823)

Yesterday morning a Coroner's Inquest was held on the body of Mr. Wm. Benoist about 23 years of age, who was found in his lodgings with the upper part of his head blown off and a pistol by his side on the floor. Medical assistance was called . . . he expired about 8 o'clock. . . . The verdict of the jury was suicide in a state of insanity. (Saturday, April 26, 1823)

On the 27th ult. died at his residence in Madison county, Alabama, the Hon. John Williams Walker, in the 39th year of his age. Mr. Walker was distinguished as a scholar and statesman and has represented the state of Alabama for three sessions in the Senate of the United States. (Monday, April 28, 1823)

Married at Boom Hill, St. George' Parish, on the 24th inst. by the Rev. Dr. McEncroe, Mr. Peter Murphy of this city, to Mrs. Louisa Clayton of said Parish. (Tuesday, April 29, 1823)

(To be continued)

NOTES AND REVIEWS*

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

South Carolina Goes to War, 1860-1865. By Charles Edward Cauthen. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950. Pp. vii, 256. Bibliography, index. \$1.25.)

While much has been written on South Carolina in relation to the Civil War, *South Carolina Goes to War* is the first published volume devoted exclusively to her political history from 1860 to 1865. It is also one of the relatively few monographs covering the war period for an individual Confederate state. For these reasons it is an important addition to the history of the state and the section.

The introductory chapter, "The Secession Movement Before 1860," is an excellent summary of the background, which, together with the detailed analysis of the developments leading to secession in 1860, tends to emphasize the paramount importance of the slavery issue and the relative unanimity in 1860 of disunionist opinion. In this respect Dr. Cauthen's interpretations tend to substantiate the conclusions of Harold S. Schultz's recently published *Nationalism and Sectionalism in South Carolina, 1852-1860* (1950). One of the most illuminating chapters analyzes "Propaganda on the Eve of Secession," pointing out its importance in promoting and maintaining secessionist sentiment and giving details on the arguments and influence of newspapers, pamphlets—particularly those disseminated by "The 1860 Association," pulpit oratory, the speech-making of politicians and the activities of Vigilance Committees and "Minute Men." Here is presented not only an excellent study in the techniques of propaganda, but an illustration of its importance in making a perhaps repressible conflict irrepressible. The author suggests that probably South Carolina was more united in secession than any other Southern state primarily because her leaders had better prepared her people for the issues of 1860 through thirty years of incessant and effective education of public opinion (p. 32).

The discussion of the problem of Fort Sumter and related issues traces carefully the tortuous and complex negotiations with the Buchanan and Lincoln administrations. Possibly, however, on the question of the responsibility for the beginning of the war Dr. Cauthen gives undue weight to Professor Charles W. Ramsdell's thesis that Lincoln shrewdly provoked the South into attacking Fort Sumter in order to precipitate "the war

* This department will print queries not exceeding fifty words from members of the Society. The charge to non-members is one dollar for each fifty words or less. Copy should be sent to The Secretary, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C.

which he believed was necessary to unite the North and preserve the Union" (p. 128).

The treatment of such war problems as the development of economic resources, conscription, the impressment of slaves and supplies, and state finances presents a variety of detailed information on the policies of a Confederate state, and, in miniature perhaps, the difficulties of all governments in time of war. Particularly interesting is the account of the activities of the Executive Council, which during the greater part of 1862 virtually superseded the regular government. Although its policies brought such widespread protest in highly individualistic South Carolina as to lead to its abolition within less than a year of its creation, Dr. Cauthen presents convincing evidence that it not only promoted the more efficient prosecution of the war but that, on the whole, it "exercised its power . . . with restraint as well" (p. 151). The story of the Executive Council is, incidentally, a significant illustration of the American tendency to resist restraints on individual liberty even during the crises of war. While this book details carefully the conflicts between South Carolina and the Confederate government, as well as the gradual increase of hostility to the Davis administration, it also makes clear that there was never as widespread disaffection in this as in some other states and concludes that, in spite of a strong devotion to state rights principles, "Probably no state officially co-operated more fully with the Confederate government" (p. 229).

The almost exclusive concern of this volume with political developments and its failure to include details on social, economic and cultural conditions may disappoint some readers. But it was certainly not the author's intent to write such a comprehensive account of the total impact of the war on a state as John K. Bettersworth presented in his *Confederate Mississippi* (1943). Perhaps, however, the thoroughness of Dr. Cauthen's treatment more than compensates for his limited coverage. Based on an exhaustive investigation of source materials and bringing together much information heretofore unavailable in one place, his work clearly achieves his purpose of contributing to "a better understanding of the political history of the state" (p.v.). At the same time, as a careful and objective study of South Carolina politics and government in the Civil War period it is an important addition to the historiography of that conflict.

The Citadel

GRANVILLE T. PRIOR

Woman's Surgeon: The Life Story of J. Marion Sims. By Seale Harris, M.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. Pp. x, 432. \$5.00.)

For the professionally trained historian, research is a vocation. All honor to him, for without his labors, the field of history would be but poorly cultivated.

There are those, however, for whom history is an avocation. The major part of their time and energy is devoted to other fields. For them, history is an art, not a science.

The volume discussed in this review belongs to the second type of history. Dr. Seale Harris, the author, is a nationally known physician, particularly distinguished for his work with insulin. The discoverer of hyperinsulinism, he has written authoritative articles on diabetes, hyperinsulinism, pellagra and pernicious anemia, for medical journals and encyclopedias. He also is the author of one other biography, *Banting's Miracle*, the life of the discoverer of insulin.

To say that history has been an avocation for Dr. Harris, is not to say that his work is superficial or uncritical. This volume gives evidence of careful and painstaking work. The preface and the appendix describe his long and careful search for authentic documentary material and, while he has not burdened his text with footnotes, the bibliography is extraordinarily complete and well organized.

The social scientist who reads this book will inevitably feel handicapped by his own lack of medical knowledge. If, however, he forgets that the book is medical history, and examines it rather as a piece of social history, he will find it richly rewarding.

James Marion Sims, born in 1813, began the practice of medicine in 1835 and died in 1883. To the physician the fact that he was "the father of modern gynecology", a pioneer in the development of surgical techniques which are common practices today, and an inventor of surgical instruments which are still in use, is a matter of interest. The fact that he established the Woman's Hospital, and that he was one of the first American physicians to win respect abroad as a teacher rather than as an able student, is a matter of pride.

To the social scientist, however, the chief interest of the book lies in the picture it gives of areas of American life of which all too little is known. There are fascinating glimpses of a southern village of the early nineteenth century with its class distinctions, its genteel poverty, its chivalry and its greed. There is a sympathetic picture of adolescent life in such a village with its loves, its hates, and its fears. There is a very human interpretation of the desperate feeling of inferiority which colored the early life of J. Marion Sims, and a very intelligent tracing of its effects upon his youth and his early manhood. There is an appalling account of what passed for medical education, and for diagnosis and treatment in the early nineteenth century. There are clear descriptions of surgical instruments invented and operative techniques developed, so skillfully presented as to be both comprehensible and interesting to the layman.

Finally the South is debtor to Dr. Harris for making one of her great

sons live again. Dr. Sims was not only a great surgeon; he lives as a person in this book. His virtues are not exaggerated, nor are his faults and his idiosyncrasies glossed over. The reader closes the book with a real affection for this woman's surgeon, who was a very human person as well as a distinguished physician.

There are places in this book, however, where Harris, the historian, becomes Harris the writer of fiction. The dramatization of episodes in Sims' life by telling what he thought, and by direct quotation, is interesting, but is it history?

Again there are times when the author's enthusiasm runs away with him and he deals in superlatives when comparatives or even positives might suffice. But these are minor criticisms. The book is interesting. It is well-written. It fills a gap in history which needed filling. Any student of the period will be well repaid for time spent in reading it.

Alabama College

HALLIE FARMER

Friend of the People: The Life of Dr. Peter Fayssoux of Charleston, South Carolina. By Chalmers G. Davidson. (Columbia: Medical Association of South Carolina, 1950. Pp. vii, 151. Bibliography. \$2.75.)

The author of this small volume is a native of South Carolina and is now teaching at Davidson College. He has been interested in the distinguished eighteenth century physician, Dr. Peter Fayssoux, for a great many years, having written the sketch of his life for the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

A native Charlestonian of Huguenot ancestry, Peter Fayssoux was educated in Edinburgh, Scotland, and was a student there with Benjamin Rush, who later became the well-known Philadelphia physician. The two became firm friends and it is to their correspondence, which Dr. Rush preserved, that the author is indebted for much of his original material. The contemporary Charleston newspapers, the minutes of the South Carolina Medical Society, and the journals of the South Carolina House of Representatives, furnished most of the other source material.

The book gives little concerning the practice of medicine in Charleston in the eighteenth century. However, as Dr. Fayssoux was active in public affairs, the book gives the story of his services during the Revolutionary War and is especially good in political background during the decade following the war. The story for these years is not new but it is told in an interesting manner by the author.

The book lacks an index, and the footnotes, especially those from the Rush manuscripts could have been materially shortened. A number of typographical errors occur, such as the misspelling of *dominion* (p. 9), *Purrysburg* (p. 31), *disturbance* (p. 71). The footnote on page 79 has the

wrong volume number. The name Wragg is given as Ragg (p. 141), and the name of the British general should have been Prevost, not Provost (pp. 31, 32). John Rutledge was elected president of the state and not of the colony (p. 24). Some of the counties mentioned (p. 68) had not then been formed; and Sherman should not have been credited with destroying the Columbia newspapers of 1790 (p. 99), for none are known to have been published.

Nevertheless, the reader will be amply repaid by acquainting himself with this little volume. The South Carolina Medical Association deserves credit for publishing this informative life of its first president.

Erskine College

J. MAULDIN LESESNE

Bernard Baruch: Portrait of a Citizen. By W. L. White. (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company. 1950. Pp. 158. \$2.00.)

This is a sketch of one of South Carolina's most distinguished sons, whose career leads from the devastation of Reconstruction to the omnipotence and wealth of Wall Street and Washington. Son of a Jewish physician who was a captain in the Confederate army and a knight of the Ku Klux Klan, Bernard Baruch was old enough in 1876 to experience the emotionalism of that election, and he has lived long enough to share in the fear of atomic energy. His has not been a meteoric career: there has been plenty of hard work, uncertainties, and defeats political and financial. Economically, his life spans indifferent *laissez faire*, restrictive New Dealism, and the tight reins of war controls. Through it all Baruch has prospered, perhaps because he found certain financial truths that are permanent: the constant values of gold, facts, and confidence. Unlike many self-made men, Baruch also developed a social consciousness. This may have been due to the fact that he was a Jew—because of his religion he was never permitted to enter a club in which his Episcopalian in-laws were members—or it may be the normal attribute of a man possessing gentility and natural humility.

President Woodrow Wilson availed himself of Baruch's talents by making him chairman of the War Industries Board. His success caused a German general to say that this "American Jew understood war." Even the Republican Presidents of the 1920's found use for the capacities of this devout Democrat. It was a surprise to many therefore when Franklin D. Roosevelt ignored him. The "Brain Trust" did not like him: Baruch's social and political ideas were too tainted with nineteenth century liberalism. Besides, even in the depths of the depression, he was a man who was not ashamed to be called a capitalist and a market operator. Therefore the presidential advisors libelled him to Roosevelt as "too old". That was eighteen years ago. During Truman's first administration Baruch aided James F. Byrnes in demobilization and was appointed chairman of the American delegation in

the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. His opposition to the Soviet terms for controlling atomic power led to a criticism of his stand by Secretary of State Acheson and Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace. Like many Americans, Baruch doubted Truman's chances of election in 1948 and did not contribute to the Democratic campaign fund. Since then the White House has had no need of his aptitudes.

The author of this work is a journalist who has written several books that have had wide circulation. A credit to his profession, this sketch maintains a sustained interest and is easy to read. Unfortunately Mr. White did not choose to do any extensive research on his subject. Most of the sources are short magazine articles, and the personages in the book are one-sided. Everyone, President Roosevelt included, is appraised by his contribution to Mr. Baruch's career. The result can hardly fail to satisfy the subject, but certainly can not be labeled as authoritative. Bernard Baruch is an important figure in American history and he is worthy of a definitive biography. That is yet to be written but it is doubtful whether it will have the interest and appeal of this volume. Aside from his historical importance, any man who evaluates himself as: "first an American, secondly a Southerner, thirdly a Confederate Democrat, and lastly a Jew", is bound to be of interest to many people.

The Citadel

CHARLES L. ANGER

Mason Smith Family Letters 1860-1868. Edited by Daniel E. Huger Smith, Alice R. Huger Smith, Arney R. Childs. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1950. Pp. xxiv, 292. Illustrations, index. \$5.00.)

In the form of family correspondence, this is the account of the adventures of a representative South Carolina connection through the War Between the States. Mrs. William Mason Smith, whose collection of letters formed the bulk of this book's sources, and her husband, who had died in 1851, came from people who had never taken lightly their obligations of "service to the state in peace and war." She was daughter to Daniel Elliott Huger, grand-daughter to Arthur Middleton, the Signer; while her husband had had for grand-fathers, Robert Smith, first Bishop of South Carolina, and John Julius Pringle. The *Dictionary of American Biography* will furnish sketches of these four and a considerable number of their kin. Following the tradition, the three sons of the Mason Smith family went into active service in the Confederate army as soon as they were able. Their rice plantations lay along the stretch of coast between Charleston and Savannah, and were soon vulnerable from the Federal blockaders, who raided up among the tidal rivers. The family homes being in the south-eastern quarter of Charleston were among the first that had to be abandoned, so the Smiths were for

a long while refugees in different parts of the interior. The eldest son died of wounds got at Cold Harbor. Altogether, their's was a classic experience of courageously borne disaster.

The book takes its place aptly besides Mrs. Chesnut's *Diary from Dixie*, and supplements handsomely D. E. Huger Smith's *A Charlestonian's Recollections*.

The indexing might have been more thorough. General Edward E. Potter should have credit for the raids made in 1865 through the defenseless plantations, attributed to General R. B. Potter in the Introduction.

S. G. S.

Guide to the Study and Reading of South Carolina History: A General Classified Bibliography. By J. H. Easterby. *South Carolina Bibliographies*, No. 2. (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1950. Pp. xi, 289. Indices. \$2.00.)

The appearance of the second volume of the bibliographies of the Historical Commission is an event of importance to every student of South Carolina History. Beginning as a college syllabus, this reading list has grown to a full-fledged "general classified bibliography" with almost 4000 items. Most impressive is the mass of material that has been brought out, and rare will be the researcher who does not find here a title he has overlooked. Reading over the list is in itself an experience in Caroliniana.

To cavil at points in the face of unnumbered merits may seem little short of ingratitude, but Mr. Easterby has warned that the listing is only a preliminary progress report. A new edition prepared with the assistance of libraries throughout the state is promised which will include descriptions and locations. It may be mentioned that the system of a single entry for each item, while it has definite economic advantages, has as definite bibliographical disadvantages. Care must be exercised in cross-checking from the two indices, thorough as they are. As only printed material is included, many theses and dissertations are not listed. It is to be hoped that a later publication will include them and the significant manuscript collections in the state.

This splendid compilation is at once a guide and a challenge to students. The plan for a second edition affords an opportunity to all historians to contribute through their libraries titles which are lacking. More importantly, it provides a clearing house in which may be read the record of the notable work that has been done and just as plainly the lacunae that are still to be filled.

GEORGE W. WILLIAMS

"A Tale That is Told": Stories, Incidents, Sketches of Carolina Life. By Samuel Calhoun Morris. (Charleston: [Southern Printing Company], 1950. Pp. 120. In paper, \$1.00. In cloth, \$2.00.)

This little book unfolds the reminiscences of a Citadel graduate of 1899, now living in Bucksville, whose life as a teacher and Methodist preacher in various parts of South Carolina has brought him close to many people. After an unpromising fictional start, his experiences, grave and gay, with saints and sinners, hold the reader to the end. Many of the incidents are factual, giving the names of persons and places, from Aynor to Anderson, from Hell Hole to Silver Street. "I am glad that Heaven is my home," says a character, "but I'm not homesick yet."

A more logical arrangement, some simple editing, and better proofreading, would have added much to the value of a human record that is savored by kindness, humor and sincerity.

A. K. G.

THE SOCIETY

A special meeting of the Society on June 12 last, was called by President Stoney to announce the acquisition of three modern and very valuable manuscript collections: the papers of DuBose Heyward, presented by Mrs. Heyward; photostats of the letters of DuBose Heyward to Hervey Allen, the gift of Mrs. Allen; and the papers of John Bennett, who was long an officer of this Society and is now an honorary member. The responsibility of processing these extensive collections emphasizes the immediate, urgent and long-felt need for a professionally trained staff to do this and other much-needed work. To support even a minimum staff, the membership of the Society will have to be tripled, and donors sought for endowment.

On October 28, the Society will be host at a joint meeting of all historical organizations in the state. The program will include discussion of matters of common interest, a short colonial prayer-service at Goose Creek Church, a basket lunch at a local picnic ground and visits to historic plantations.

OTHER HISTORICAL AGENCIES

The Jane Evans Memorial Museum of Florence is campaigning for a permanent home which will meet the needs of various cultural organizations. Eugene N. Zeigler, president of the Museum, has recently exhibited a series of beautiful photographs, made by the Florence Camera Club, of the antebellum churches and residences of the county. A committee of the Florence County Historical Society has been appointed to compile the histories of these buildings. So much interest was aroused by the exhibit, that the Camera Club is planning to do similar work in Marion and Darlington Counties.

In June last at a special meeting, the Beaufort County Historical Society completed its list of officers for 1951 by electing Howard Danner, Esq. as president.

The annual meeting of Edgefield County Historical Society at the courthouse on June 29, was highlighted by General L. G. Merritt's address on the Mims family. A turkey dinner followed at the Edgefield Hotel, after which the society's building was opened for members and friends.

At the June meeting of the Sumter County Historical Society, Dr. Chapman Milling of Columbia spoke on the Indians and Indian remains of the county.

Officers of the Dalcho Historical Society for 1951 are: president, The Rev. H. D. Bull; vice-president, the Right Rev. A. S. Thomas; sec.-treas., Marie Heyward; executive committee, Dr. Bull, Bishop Thomas, Miss Heyward, Bishop T. N. Carruthers, and Richard Banks. Organized in 1945 and named for the historian of the early Episcopal Church in South Carolina, the society seeks to encourage the study of the history of the church and to preserve its records.

At the summer meeting of the Darlington County Historical Society, Dr. W. Stanley Hoole, director of libraries at the University of Alabama, made an address on the ante-bellum migration of South Carolinians to Alabama.

On June 14, 1951, St. Michael's Church, Charleston, began the celebration of its two hundredth anniversary in a series of events which are scheduled to terminate on February 17, 1952. A valuable feature of the celebration is the publication of a history of the parish by George W. Williams.

At the Library of Congress last March, the American Studies Association was organized to encourage the study of American civilization. Membership is open to individuals, organizations, and institutions. Dr. Carl Bode of the University of Maryland is head of the steering committee.

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

Miss Julia Simmons, 406 Seventh Street, Huntington Beach, Calif. is compiling an annotated bibliography of manuscript American diaries written prior to the year 1861. The Society has contributed nine unpublished items to her list. She requests that members who possess such diaries will send her the information for her book.

James H. Milner, 11 W. Perry Street, Savannah, Ga., wants information on ancestry of William Lewis Moultrie (1787-1842), born in N. C., and moved to Tenn. c. 1835. His issue by 1st wife Utica Batcher, born c. 1792 in N. C., were John Logan born 1816, Vincent, Mose, Nancy, and Martha; by 2d wife—Carrol, Robert and Mary Ellen.

Mrs. William S. Elrod, 300 Elrod Circle, Anderson, wants names and places of residence of parents and four grandparents of Mary Ross, who married first—McCullough; and second, John Barre Simpson I, beside whom she was buried at Friendship Presbyterian Church, Laurens County.

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